

4515aaat2

THE GENUINE
WORKS
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS;

TRANSLATED BY
WILLIAM WHISTON, M.A.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING
THE FIRST FIVE BOOKS
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

To which are prefixed
THREE DISSERTATIONS.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR THOMAS BROWN, NORTH BRIDGE-STREET;
LAWKIE AND SYMINGTON, PARLIAMENT-SQUARE;
AND SOLD BY
ALL THE OTHER BOOKSELLERS IN SCOTLAND.

1793.



FI

Th

H. Two
ANT
of Jo
H. Sev
WAR

La

H. The
vindi
H. God
offer u

With

PROFES

PR

THE GENUINE
 WORKS
 OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS;

Translated from the ORIGINAL GREEK, according to HAVER-
 CAMP'S accurate EDITION: K

CONTAINING

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I. Twenty Books of the JEWISH
 ANTIQUITIES; with the Life
 of JOSEPHUS, written by himself.</p> | <p>III. Two Books against APION.
 IV. An Extract out of JOSEPHUS'S
 Exhortation to the GREEKS
 concerning HADES, and the
 Resurrection of the Dead.</p> |
| <p>II. Seven Books of the JEWISH
 WAR.</p> | |

TOGETHER WITH

Large NOTES, proper OBSERVATIONS, and an INDEX.

To which are prefixed,

THREE DISSERTATIONS,

CONCERNING

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>I. The Testimonies of JOSEPHUS
 vindicated.</p> | <p>III. TACITUS'S accounts of the
 origin of the JEWISH NATION,
 and of the Particulars of the
 last JEWISH WAR.</p> |
| <p>II. God's command to Abraham to
 offer up Isaac his son for a sacrifice.</p> | |

With a TABLE of the JEWISH COINS, WEIGHTS, and MEASURES.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

By WILLIAM WHISTON, M. A.

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR THOMAS BROWN, NORTH BRIDGE-STREET;

LAWRIE AND SYMINGTON, PARLIAMENT-SQUARE;

AND SOLD BY

ALL THE OTHER BOOKSELLERS IN SCOTLAND.



D

I. T

II. C

III.

T H R E E
D I S S E R T A T I O N S.

C O N T A I N I N G

- I. The Testimonies of JOSEPHUS concerning JESUS CHRIST,
JOHN the Baptist, and JAMES the Just, vindicated.
 - II. Concerning God's command to ABRAHAM to offer up
ISAAC his son for a sacrifice.
 - III. A Demonstration that TACITUS, the Roman historian,
took his History of the Jews out of JOSEPHUS.
-

D

The
JOH

SIN
J
P

cernin
the J
princi
reth h
and r
for m
testim
ginal
teen
obser
plete

Bo
sephu
settin
son,
auth
lego
" Jo
" tr
" th
" af
" to
" bo
" w

D I S S E R T A T I O N I.

*The TESTIMONIES of JOSEPHUS concerning JESUS CHRIST;
JOHN the Baptist, and JAMES the Just, vindicated*

SINCE we meet with several important testimonies in Josephus, the Jewish historian, concerning JOHN the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, concerning JESUS of Nazareth himself, and concerning JAMES the Just, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth; and since the principal testimony, which is that concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, has of late been greatly questioned by many, and rejected by some of the learned as spurious, it will be fit for me, who have ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies were genuine, to set down fairly some of the *original evidence and citations* I have met with in the first fifteen centuries concerning them, and then to make proper *observations* upon that evidence, for the reader's more complete satisfaction.

BUT before I produce the citations themselves out of Josephus, give me leave to prepare the reader's attention, by setting down the sentiments of perhaps the most learned person, and the most competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus, I mean of Joseph Scaliger in the Prolegomena to his book, *De Emendatione Temporum*, p. 17.

“ Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers: nor are we afraid to affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, because his fidelity and his compass of learning are every where conspicuous.”

The ancient CITATIONS of the Testimonies of JOSEPHUS from his own time till the end of the fifteen century.

About A. D. 110. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 44.

NERO, in order to stifle the rumour, [as if he had himself set Rome on fire], ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar *Christians*: these he punished exquisitely. *The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.*

About A. D. 147. Just. Mart. Dialog. cum Trypho. p. 234.

You [Jews] knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretel was to, happen.

About A. D. 230. Origen. Comment. in Matth. p. 230.

THIS James was of so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when, in his twentieth book of the Jewish Antiquities, he had a mind to set down what was the cause why the people suffered such miseries, till the very holy house was demolished, he said, that these things befel them by the anger of God, on account of what they had dared to do to James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*: And wonderful it is, that, while he did not receive Jesus for Christ, he did nevertheless bear witness that James was so righteous a man. He says farther, that the people thought that they suffered these things for the sake of James.

About A. D. 250. Contr. Gels. lib. i. p. 35. 36.

I WOULD say to Celsus, who personates a Jew, that admitted of John the Baptist, and how he baptized Jesus, that one who lived but a little while after John and Jesus, wrote, how that John was a baptizer unto the remission of sins: For Josephus testifies in the eighteenth book of Jewish Antiquities, that John was the baptist, and that he promised purification to those that were baptized. The same Josephus also, although he did not believe in Jesus as Christ, when he was enquiring after the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem,

and

and of the demolition of the temple, and ought to have said, that their machinations against Jesus were the cause of those miseries coming on the people, because they had slain that Christ, who was foretold by the prophets, he, though as it were unwillingly, and yet as one not remote from the truth, says, "These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, that was called *Christ*, because they had slain him who was a most righteous person." Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen *as the Lord's brother*; [Gal. i. 19.] which relation implies not so much nearness of blood, or the sameness of education, as it does the agreement of manners and preaching. If therefore he says the desolation of Jerusalem befel the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said, that it happened for the sake of Jesus? &c.

About A. D. 324. *Euseb. Demonstr. Evan. lib. iii. p. 124.*

CERTAINLY the attestation of those I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be sufficient. However, it may not be amiss if, over and above, we make use of Josephus the Jew for a farther witness; who, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, when he was writing the history of what happened under Pilate, makes mention of our Saviour in these words: Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had a veneration for truth; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had spoken of these, and tenthousand other wonderful things concerning him; whence the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. If therefore we have this historian's testimony, that he not only brought over to himself the twelve apostles, with the seventy disciples, but many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also, he must manifestly have had somewhat in him extraordinary above the rest of mankind; for how otherwise could he draw over so many of the Jews, and of the Gentiles, unless he performed admirable and amazing works;

works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the scripture of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness, that there were many ten thousands of Jews who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets. [Acts xxi. 20.]

About A. D. 330. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 11.

Now the divine scripture of the gospels makes mention of John the Baptist as having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concurs in this history, and makes mention of Herodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married, upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, King of the Petrean Arabians; and which Herodias he had parted from her husband while he was alive: On which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, [Aretas made war with him], because his daughter had been used dishonourably: In which war, when it came to a battle, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John. Moreover the same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the baptist, conspires in his testimony with what is written in the gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodias, together with whom he was himself condemned to be banished to Vienna, a city of Gall. And this is his account in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes thus of John *verbatim*: Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John that was called the Baptist, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, for that by this means the washing [with water] would appear acceptable to him, when they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body, supposing still that the soul were thoroughly purified before hand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crouds about him, for they were greatly delighted in hearing his words, Herod was afraid that this so great power of persuading men might tend to some sedition

dition or other, for they seemed to be disposed to do every thing he should advise them to, so he supposed it better to prevent any attempt for a mutation from him by cutting him off, that after any such mutation should be brought about, and the public should suffer, to repent [of such negligence]. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machærus, the castle before mentioned, and was there put to death.—When Josephus had said this of John, he makes mention also of our Saviour in the same history, after this manner: Now there was about this time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; he drew over to him both many of the Jews; and many of the Gentiles also: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. And since this writer, sprung from the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered these things above in his own work, concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what room is there for any farther evasion? &c.

Now James was so wonderful a person, and was so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews thought this to have been the occasion of that siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it befel them for no other reason, than that impious fact they were guilty of against him. Josephus therefore did not refuse to attest thereto in writing, by the words following: These miseries befel the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called *Christ*, on this account, that they had slain him who was a most righteous person.

The same Josephus declares the manner of his death in the twentieth book of the Antiquities, in these words: Caesar sent Albinus into Judea to be procurator, when he had heard that Festus was dead. Now Ananus junior, who, as we said, had been admitted to the high priesthood, was in his temper bold and daring in an extraordinary manner. He was

was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are more savage in judgment than any of the other Jews, as we have already signified. Since therefore this was the character of Ananus, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority], because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembles the sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, and some others [of his companions], and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: But as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those who were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the King [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified, &c.

About A. D. 360. Ambrose or Hagesippus de Excid. Urb. Hierosolym. lib. ii. cap. 12.

We have discovered that it was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as Josephus affirms, (who is an author not to be rejected, when he writes against himself), that Herod lost his army; not by the deceit of men, but by the anger of God, and that justly, as an effect of revenge for what he did to John the Baptist, a just man, who had said to him, *It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.*

The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ; as appears by Josephus, the writer of their history, who says thus: That there was at that time a wise man, if, says he, it be lawful to have him called a man, a doer of wonderful works who appeared to his disciples after the third day, from his death, alive again, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold these and innumerable other miraculous events concerning him; from whom began the congregation of Christians, and hath penetrated among all sorts of men: nor does there remain any nation in the Roman world, which continues strangers to his religion. If the Jews do not believe us, let them at least believe their own writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great man, hath said this, and yet hath he spoken truth after such a manner, and so far was his mind wandered from the right way, that even he was not a believer, as to what he himself said; but thus he spake in order to deliver historical truth, because he

thought

though
no belie
perfidio
truth th
to his t
willing

About

JOSEPHUS
express
on acco
the Bap
molithe
Now he
the sam
ful to c
a teach
many fo
was bel
princip
outwith
for he a
cles of
wonder
tians, s

About

THESE
tion, an
paraph
tantly
was no
he mad
support
sendow
about t
a man,
such m
to him
He was
the pri

thought it not lawful for him to deceive, while yet he was no believer, because of the hardness of his heart, and his perfidious intention. However, it was no prejudice to the truth that he was not a believer, but this adds more weight to his testimony, that while he was an unbeliever, and unwilling this should be true, he has not denied it to be so.

About A. D. 400. Hieronym, de Vir. Illustr. in Josepho.

JOSEPHUS, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges, that Christ was slain by the Pharisees on account of the greatness of his miracles; and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the apostle. Now he wrote concerning our Lord after this manner: At the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers both of the Jews and of the Gentiles: He was believed to be Christ. And when, by the envy of our principal men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, this notwithstanding, those who had loved him at first persevered, for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many of these and other wonderful things concerning him: And the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

About A. D. 410. Isidorus Pelusiota the scholar of Chrysostom, lib. iv. epist. 225.

THERE was one Josephus, a Jew of the greatest reputation, and one that was zealous of the law; one also that paraphrased the Old Testament with truth, and acted valiantly for the Jews, and had shewed that their settlement was nobler than can be described by words. Now since he made their interest give place to truth, for he would not support the opinion of impious men, I think it necessary to set down his words. What then does he say? Now there was about that time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: He was the Christ. And when Pilate at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross,

cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these, and a vast number of other wonderful things concerning him: And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Now I cannot but wonder greatly at this man's love of truth in many respects, but chiefly where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men, which received the truth with pleasure."

About A. D. 440. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 1.

Now Josephus, the son of Matthias, a priest, a man of very great note both among the Jews and the Romans, may well be a witness of credit as to the truth of Christ's history; for he scruples to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the words of truth: He names him *Christ* openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross; and appeared on the third day alive, and that ten thousand other wonderful things were foretold of him by the divine prophets. He testifies also, that those whom he drew over to him, being many of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews, continued to love him; and that the tribe named from him was not then extinct. Now he seems to me by this his relation, almost to proclaim that Christ is God. However, he appears to have been so affected with the strangeness of the thing, as to run as it were in a sort of a middle-way, so as not to put any indignity upon believers in him, but rather to afford his suffrage to them.

About A. D. 510. Cassiodorus Hist. Tripartit. e Sozomeno.

Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, and a priest, a man of great nobility among the Jews, and of a great dignity among the Romans, shall be a truth of Christ's history: for he dares not call him a man, as a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true doctrines; he names him *Christ* openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover he testifies also, that there were then alive many whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him; and that the sect which was named from him was by no means extinct at that time.

About

Now
siquitie
ed, on
of Her
who w
the dau
fore H
while h
also),
ter had
that all
that cal
of again
lost his
he was

P. 52
ing thre
sonings,
writings
P. 58
the [Jew
cond] ye
dared to
James,
was thro
by stonin

Ab

Now
Christ, t
ed so to
and mira

About

THESE
James th
Christ, o
most rig
character
Jesus w

About A. D. 640. Chron. Alex. p. 514.

Now Josephus also relates in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, how John the Baptist, that holy man, was beheaded, on account of Herodias, the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod himself; for Herod had divorced his former wife, who was still alive, and had been his lawful wife: she was the daughter of Aretas, King of the Petreans. When therefore Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive (on whose account he slew John also), Aretas made war against Herod, because his daughter had been dishonourably treated: In which war he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered that calamity because of the wickedness he had been guilty of against John. The same Josephus relates, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, and that with her he was banished to Lyons, &c.

P. 526, 527.] Now that our Saviour taught his preaching three years, is demonstrated both by other necessary reasonings, as also out of the holy gospels, and out of Josephus's writings, who was a wise man among the Hebrews, &c.

P. 584, 586.] Josephus relates, in the fifth book of the [Jewish] war, that Jerusalem was taken in the third [second] year of Vespasian, as after forty years since they had dared to put Jesus to death: In which time he says, that James, the brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down [from the temple], and slain of them, by stoning.

About A. D. 740. Anastasias Abbas contr. Jud.

Now Josephus, an author and writer of your own, says of Christ, that he was a just and good man, shewed and declared so to be by divine grace, who gave aid to many by signs and miracles.

About A. D. 790. Georgius Syncellus Chron. p. 339.

THESE miseries beset the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ, on the account that they had slain him who was a most righteous person. Now as Ananus, a person of that character, thought he had a proper opportunity, because Jesus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road, so he
assembles

About

assemblies the sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those that seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those that were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the King [Agrippa], desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified, &c.

About A. D. 850. Johan. Malela Chron. lib. x.

FROM that time began the destruction of the Jews, as Josephus, the philosopher of the Hebrews, hath written: who also said this, that from the time the Jews crucified Christ, who was a good and a righteous man, (that is, if it be fit to call such an one a man, and not a God), the land of Judea was never free from trouble. These things the same Josephus the Jew has related in his writings.

About A. D. 860. Photius Cod. lib. xlviii.

I HAVE read the treatise of Josephus *about the universe*, whose title I have elsewhere read to be, *Of the substance of the universe*. It is contained in two very small treatises. He treats of the origin of the world in a brief manner. However, he speaks of the divinity of Christ, who is our true God in a way very like to what we use, declaring that the same name of Christ belongs to him, and writes of his ineffable generation of the Father after such a manner as cannot be blamed: Which thing may perhaps raise a doubt in some, whether Josephus were the author of the work, though the philosophy does not at all differ from this man's other works. However, I have found in some papers, that this discourse was not written by Josephus, but by one Caius a presbyter

Cod. ccxxxviii.] HEROD the tetrach of Gallilee and of Perea, the son of Herod the Great, fell in love, as Josephus says, with the wife of his brother Herod, whose name was Herodias, who was the grand-daughter of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, whom he had slain. Agrippa was also her brother. Now Herod took her away from her husband, and married her. This is he that slew John the Baptist, that great man, the forerunner [of Christ]

being
amo
John
time
C
beria
sary
being
all o
wrou

The

Jo
truth
Christ
third
public
Jesus
was a
ceive
ny of
Christ
men a
loved
them
foreto
cernin
from h
writer
cernin
fence

We
taking
frequ
ly in h
the ter
saying,
the ap
Vol

bei

being afraid (as Josephus says) lest he should raise a sedition among his people; for they all followed the directions of John, on account of the excellency of his virtue. In his time was the passion of our Saviour.

Cod. xxxiii.] I HAVE read the Chronicle of Justus of Tiberias. He omits the greatest part of what was most necessary to be related; but, as infected with Jewish prejudices, being also himself a Jew by birth, he makes no mention at all of the advent, or of the acts done, or of the miracles wrought by Christ.

The time uncertain. Macarius in Actis Sanctorum, tom. v. p. 149. ap. Fabric. Joseph. p. 61.

JOSEPHUS, a priest of Jerusalem, and one that wrote with truth the history of the Jewish affairs, bears witness, that Christ, the true God, was incarnate, and crucified, and the third day rose again; whose writings are repositied in the public library. Thus he says: Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also: this was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Since therefore the writer of the Hebrews has engraven this testimony concerning our Lord and Saviour in his own books, what defence can there remain for the unbelievers?

About A. D. 986. Suidas in voce Jesus.

WE have found Josephus, who hath written about the taking of Jerusalem (of whom Eusebius Pamphili makes frequent mention in his ecclesiastical history), saying openly in his Memoirs of the captivity, that Jesus officiated in the temple with the priests. This we have found Josephus saying, a man of ancient times, and not very long after the apostles, &c.

About A. D. 1060. Cedrenus Cowpend. Histor. p. 196.

JOSEPHUS does indeed write concerning John the Baptist as follows: Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that he was punished very justly for what punishment he inflicted on John, that was called the *Baptist*, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both by righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. But as concerning Christ, the same Josephus says, that about that time there was Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure, for that Christ drew over many even from the Gentiles: whom when Pilate had crucified, those who at first had loved him did not leave off to preach concerning him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had testified and spoken these and other wonderful things concerning him.

About A. D. 1080. Theophylact. in Joan. lib. xiii.

THE city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God was kindled against them; as also Josephus witnesses, that this came upon them on account of the death of Jesus.

About A. D. 1120. Zonarus Annal. tom. i. p. 267.

JOSEPHUS, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, writes thus concerning our Lord and God Jesus Christ: Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that had loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him: And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

About A. D. 1120. Glycas Annal. p. 234.

THEN did Philo, that wise man, and Josephus flourish. This last was styled, *The lover of truth*, because he com-
mended

mended John, who baptized our Lord; and because he bore witness that Christ, in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of great miracles; and that when he was crucified he appeared the third day.

About A. D. 1240. Godfridus Viterbiensis Chron. p. 366. e Verf. Rufini.

JOSEPHUS relates, that a very great war arose between Aretas, King of the Arabians, and Herod, on account of the sin which Herod had committed against John. Moreover, the same Josephus writes thus concerning Christ: There was at this time Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as willingly hear truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: He was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him from the beginning did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, both the name and sect of Christians, who were named from him, continue in being unto this day.

About A. D. 1360. Nicephorus Callistus Hist. Eccles. lib. i. p. 90. 91.

Now this [concerning Herod the tetrarch] is attested to, not only by the book of the holy gospels, but by Josephus, that lover of truth; who also makes mention of Herodias his brother's wife, whom Herod had taken away from him, while he was alive, and married her, having divorced his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, King of the Petrean Arabians. This Herodias he had married, and lived with her: on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, because his daughter had been dishonourably used; in which war he relates, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this on account of the most unjust slaughter of John. He also adds, that John was a most righteous man. Moreover, he makes mention of his baptism, agreeing in all points thereto relating with the gospel. He also informs us, that Herod lost his

kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom also he was condemned to be banished to Vienna, which was their place of exile, and a city bordering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmost bounds of the west.

About A. D. 1450. Hardmanus Schedelius Chron. p. 110.

Josephus the Jew, who was called *Flavius*, a priest, and the son of *Mattathias*, a priest of that nation, a most celebrated historian, and very skilful in many things: he was certainly a good man, and of an excellent character, who had the highest opinion of Christ.

About A. D. 1480. Platina de Vitis Pontificum in Christo.

I shall avoid mentioning what Christ did until the 30th year of his age, when he was baptized by John, the son of Zacharias, because not only the gospels and epistles are full of those acts of his, which he did in the most excellent and most holy manner, but the books of such as were quite remote from his way of living and acting, and ordaining, are also full of the same. Flavius Josephus himself, who wrote twenty books of Jewish Antiquities in the Greek tongue, when he had proceeded as far as the government of the emperor of Tiberius, says, There was in those days Jesus, a certain wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of men, of such especially as willingly hear the truth. On this account he drew over to him many both of the Jews and Gentiles: He was Christ. But when Pilate, instigated by the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, yet did not those that had loved him from the beginning forsake him: And besides, he appeared to them the third day after his death alive, as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. And the famous name of *Christians*, taken from him, as well as their sect, do still continue in being.

The same Josephus also affirms, that John the Baptist, a true prophet, and on that account one that was had in esteem by all men, was slain by Herod, the son of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Christ, in the castle Macherus; not because he was afraid for himself, and his kingdom, as the same author says, but because he had incestuously married Herodias

Herodias, the sister of Agrippa, and the wife of that excellent person his brother Philip.

About A. D. 1480. *Trithemius Abbas de Scriptor. Eccles.*

Josephus the Jew, although he continued to be a Jew, did frequently commend the Christians; and in the eighteenth book of Antiquities wrote down an eminent testimony concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

OBSERVATIONS from the foregoing EVIDENCE
and CITATIONS.

I. THE *style* of all these original testimonies belonging to Josephus is exactly the style of the same Josephus, and especially the style about those parts of his Antiquities wherein we find these testimonies. This is denied by nobody as to the other concerning John the Baptist, and James the Just, and is now become equally undeniable as to that concerning Christ.

II. These testimonies therefore being confessedly and undeniably written by Josephus himself, it is next to impossible that he should wholly omit some testimony concerning Jesus Christ; nay, while his testimonies of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, are so honourable, and give them so great characters, it is also impossible that his testimony concerning Christ should be other than very honourable, or such as afforded him a still greater character also. Could the very same author, who gave such a full and advantageous character of John the Baptist, the forerunner to Jesus of Nazareth, all whose disciples were by him directed to Jesus of Nazareth, as to the true Messiah, and all whose disciples became afterwards the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, say nothing honourable of that Jesus of Nazareth himself? and this in an history of those very times in which he was born, and lived and died, and that while the writer lived but a little after him in the same country in which he was born, and lived and died? This is almost incredible. And further, could the very same author, who gave such an advantageous character of James the Just,

and this under the very appellation of *James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ*, which James was one of the principal disciples or apostles of this Jesus Christ, and had been many years the only Christian bishop of the believing Jews of Judea and Jerusalem, in the very days, and in the very country of this writer? could he, I say, wholly omit any, nay, a very honourable account of Jesus Christ himself, whose disciple and bishop this James most certainly was? This is also almost incredible. Hear what Ittigius, one of the wisest and learnedst of all those who have lately inclined to give up the testimony concerning Christ, as it stands in our copies for spurious, says upon this occasion: "If any one object to me, that Josephus hath not omitted John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, nor James the disciple of Christ, and that therefore he could not have done the part of a good historian if he had been entirely silent concerning Christ, I shall freely grant that Josephus was not entirely silent concerning Christ; nay, I shall further grant, that when Josephus was speaking of Christ he did not abstain from his commendation; for we are not to determine from that inveterate hatred which the modern Jews bear to Christ, what was the behaviour of those Jews, upon whom the miracles that were daily wrought by the apostles in the name of Christ imprinted a sacred horror."

III. The famous clause in this testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, *This was Christ, or the Christ*, did not mean that this Jesus was the *Christ of God*, or the *true Messiah* of the Jews, but that this Jesus was distinguished from all others of that name, of which there were not a few, as mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition of the other name of *Christ*; or that this person was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of *Jesus Christ*, and his followers by the name of *Christians*. This I esteem to be a clear case, and that from the arguments following:

(1.) The Greeks and Romans, for whose use Josephus wrote his *Antiquities*, could no otherwise understand these words. The Jews indeed, and afterward the Christians, who knew that a great *Messias*, a person that was to be Christ, the *Anointed* of God, that was to perform the office of a *King*, a *Priest*, and a *Prophet*, to God's people, might readily so understand this expression; but Josephus, as I have already noted, wrote here, not to Jews or Christians, but to

Greeks

Greek a
very wel
was Jes
numerou
were ev
ians; in
words o
they sho
Hebrew
term Ch
(2.)
ing, and
s the
illable
Chrij
his mean
mention
the men
he calls
Messiah,
(3.)
dare hin
the true
to have
Greek a
great de
the Chri
one hav
either
with wh
these
(4.)
narrative
such a
udent
inions
Joseph
baptist,
most p
writing
(5.)
ents w

Greek and Romans, who knew nothing of this, but knew very well that an eminent person living in Judea, whose name was *Jesus Christ*, or *Jesus Christ*, had founded a new and numerous sect, which took the latter of those names, and were every where from him called *Chrestians*, or *Christians*; in which sense alone could they understand these words of Josephus, and in which sense I believe he desired they should understand them: nor does Josephus ever use the Hebrew term *Messiah* in any of his writings, nor the Greek term *Christ* in any such acceptation elsewhere.

(2.) Josephus himself as good as explains his own meaning, and that by the last clause of this very passage, where he says the Christians were named from this Christ, without a syllable as though he really meant he was the *true Messiah*, or *Christ of God*. He farther seems to me to explain this meaning in that other place, where alone he elsewhere mentions this name of Christ, that is, when upon occasion of the mention of James, when he was condemned by Ananus, he calls him the *Brother of Jesus*, not that was the *true Messiah*, or *the true Christ*, but only *that was called Christ*.

(3.) It was quite beside the purpose of Josephus to declare himself here to be a Christian, or a believer in Jesus as the true Messiah. Had he intended so to do, he would surely have explained the meaning of the word *Christ* to his Greek and Roman readers: he would surely have been a great deal fuller and larger in his accounts of Christ, and of the Christian religion: Nor would such a declaration at that time have recommended him, or his nation, or his writings, to either the Greeks or the Romans; of his reputation with both which people he is known to have been, in the writing of these Antiquities, very greatly solicitous.

(4.) Josephus's usual way of writing is historical and declarative of facts, and of the opinions of others, and but rarely such as directly informs us of his own opinion, unless we evidently gather it from what he says historically, or as the opinions of others. This is very observable in the writings of Josephus, and in particular as to what he says of John the Baptist, and of James the Just; so that this interpretation is most probable, as most agreeable to Josephus's way of writing in parallel cases.

(5.) This seems to be the universal sense of all the ancients without exception, who cite this testimony from him; and

and though they almost every where own this to be the true reading, yet do they every where suppose Josephus to be still an unbelieving Jew, and not a believing Christian: nay Josephus appears so well assured of this interpretation, and that Josephus did not mean to declare any more by these words than a common opinion, that, according to his usual way of interpreting authors, not to the words but to the sense, (of which we have, I think, two more instances in his account out of Josephus, now before us) he renders this clause *credentibus esse Christum*, i. e. *He was believed to be Christ*: Now this is the parallel expression of Pilate to be otherwise understood when he made that inscription upon the cross, *This is Jesus the King of the Jews* *; which is well explained by himself elsewhere, and corresponds to the import of the present clause, *What shall I do with Jesus who is called Christ* †. And we may fall as well prove from Pilate's inscription upon the cross, that he hereby declared himself a *believer in Christ*; for the *real King of the Jews*, as we can from the words of Josephus, that he thereby declared himself to be a real believer in him, as the true Messiah.

IV. Though Josephus did not design here to declare himself openly to be a Christian, yet could he not possibly believe all that he here asserts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so far a Christian as the Jewish Nazarenes or Ebionites then were, who believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the true Messiah, without believing he was more than a man, who also believed the necessity of the observation of the ceremonial law of Moses in order to salvation for all mankind, which were the two main articles of those Jewish Christian faith, though in opposition to all the thirteen apostles of Jesus Christ in the first century, and in opposition to the whole Catholic Church of Christ in the following centuries also. Accordingly I have elsewhere proved, that Josephus was no other, in his own mind and conscience, than a Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish Christian; and have observed that this entire testimony, and all that Josephus says of John the Baptist and of James, as well as his absolute silence about all the rest of the apostles and their companions, exactly agrees to him under that character, and no other. And indeed to me it is most astonishing, that all our learned men, who have of late considered these testimonies of Josephus, except the convert

* Matth. xxviii. 31.

† Matth. xxvii. 17. 22.

ed Jew Galatinus, should miss such an obvious and natural observation. We all know this from St. James's * own words, that *so many ten thousands of Jews as believed in Christ*, in the first century, *were all zealous of the ceremonial law*, or were no other than Nazarene or Ebionite Christians; and, by consequence, if there were any reason to think our Josephus to be, in any sense, a believer or a Christian, as from all these testimonies there were very great ones, all those, and many other reasons, could not but conspire to assure us, he was no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian: and this I take to be the plain and evident key of this whole matter.

V. Since therefore Josephus appears to have been, in his own heart and conscience, no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, and, by consequence, with them rejected all our Greek gospels and Greek books of the New Testament, and received only the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes or Ebionites, styled by them, *The gospel according to the Hebrews*; or, *according to the twelve apostles*; or even, *according to Matthew*, we ought always to have that Nazarene or Ebionite gospel, with the other Nazarene or Ebionite fragments in view, when we consider any passages of Josephus relating to Christ or to Christianity. Thus, since that gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels, and began with the ministry of John the Baptist; in which first parts of the gospel-history are the accounts of the slaughter of the infants, and of the inrolment or taxation under Augustus Cæsar and Herod, it is no great wonder that Josephus has not taken care particularly and clearly to preserve those histories to us. Thus when we find that Josephus calls James, the brother of Christ, by the name of *James the Just*, and describes him as a *most just or righteous man*, in an especial manner, we are to remember that such is his name and character in the gospel according to the Hebrews, and the other Ebionite remains of Hegesippus, but nowhere else, that I remember, in the earliest antiquity: Nor are we to suppose they herein referred to any other than that *righteousness which was by the Jewish law*, wherein St. Paul †, before he embraced Christianity, professed himself to have been *blameless*. Thus when Josephus, with other Jews, ascribed the miseries of that nation under Vespasian and Titus,

* Acts xxi. 20.

† Philip. iii. 4, 5, 6.

Titus, with the destruction of Jerusalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just, we must remember, what we learn from the Ebionite fragments of Hegefippus, that these Ebionites interpreted a prophecy of Isaiah as foretelling this very murder, and those consequent miseries; *Let us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to us; therefore shall they eat the fruit of their own ways* *. Thus when Josephus says, as we have seen, that the most equitable citizens of Jerusalem, and those that were most zealous of the law, were very uneasy at the condemnation of this James, and some of his friends or fellow Christians, by the high priest and sanhedrim about *A. D.* 62. and declares, that he himself was one of those Jews who thought the terrible miseries of that nation effects of the vengeance of God for their murder of this James about *A. D.* 68. we may easily see those opinions could only be the opinions of converted Jews or Ebionites. The high priest and sanhedrim, who always prosecuted the Christians and now condemned these Christians, and the body of those unbelieving Jews, who are supposed to suffer for murdering this James, the head of the Nazarene or Ebionite Christian in Judea, could not, to be sure, be of that opinion: nor could Josephus himself be of the same opinion, as he declares he was, without the strongest inclinations to the Christian religion, or without being secretly a Christian Jew, *i. e.* a Nazarene or Ebionite; which thing is, by the way, a very great additional argument that such he was, and no other. Thus, lastly, when Josephus is cited in Suidas as affirming that Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple, this account is by no means disagreeable to the pretensions of the Ebionites. Hegefippus affirms the very same of James the Just also.

VI. The first citation of the famous testimony concerning our Saviour from Tacitus, almost all that was true of the Jews is directly taken by him out of Josephus, as will be demonstrated under the third Dissertation hereafter.

VII. The second author I have alleged for it is Justin Martyr, one so nearly coeval with Josephus, that he might be born about the time when he wrote his Antiquities, and appeals to the same Antiquities by that very name; and though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to me to allude to this very testimony in them concerning our Saviour, when he affirms in this place to Trypho the Jew, *That his nation originally knew that Jesus was risen from the dead*.

* Isaiah iii. 10.

and, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did fore-
 was to happen. Since there neither now is, nor proba-
 in the days of Justin was any other Jewish testimony
 tant which is so agreeable to what Justin here affirms of
 the Jews, as is this of Josephus the Jew before us: Nor,
 need, does he seem to me to have had any thing else par-
 ticularly in his view here, but this very testimony, where
 Josephus says, *That Jesus appeared to his followers alive
 the third day after his crucifixion, as the divine prophets had
 foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things con-
 cerning him.*

VIII. The third author I have quoted for Josephus's tes-
 timonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of
 James the Just, is Origen, who is indeed allowed on all
 hands to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John
 the Baptist, and of James the Just, but whose supposed en-
 tire silence about this testimony concerning Christ is usually
 alleged as the principal argument against its being genuine,
 and particularly as to the clause, *This was the Christ*, and
 that, as we have seen, because he twice assures us, that, in
 his opinion, *Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for
 Christ*. Now as to this latter clause, I have already shewed,
 that Josephus did not here, in writing to Greeks and Ro-
 mans, mean any such thing by those words as Jews and
 Christians naturally understand by them: I have also obser-
 ved, that all the ancients allow still, with Origen, that Jose-
 phus did not, in the Jewish and Christian sense, acknowledge
 Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God, not-
 withstanding their express quotation of that clause in Josephus
 as genuine; so that unless we suppose Origen to have had a
 different notion of these words from all the other ancients, we
 cannot conclude from this assertion of Origen's, that he had
 not those words in his copy, not to say, that it is, after all,
 much more likely that his copy a little differed from the other
 copies in this clause, or indeed omitted it entirely, than that
 Origen, on its account, must be supposed not to have had the rest
 of this testimony therein, though indeed I see no necessity of
 making any such supposal at all. However, it seems to me,
 that Origen affords us four several indications that the main
 parts at least of this testimony itself were in his copy.

(1.) When Origen introduces Josephus's testimony con-
 cerning James the Just, that he thought the miseries of the
 Jews

Jews were an instance of the divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no way necessary to his purpose, nor occasioned by any words of Josephus there, that they had slain *that Christ which was foretold in the prophecies*. Whence could this expression come here into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a testimony of Josephus's concerning the brother of Christ, but from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony of the same Josephus concerning Christ *himself*, that *the prophets had foretold his death and resurrection, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him?*

(2.) How came Origen to be so surpris'd at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem to the Jews murdering of James the Just, and not to their murdering of Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus and his death before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn no way authentically as from this testimony? Nor do the words he here uses, that Josephus was *not remote from the truth*, perhaps allude to any thing else but to this very testimony before us.

(3.) How can the same Origen, upon another slight occasion, when he had just set down that testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, to say, *That it may be questioned whether the Jews thought Jesus to be a man, or whether they did not suppose him to be a being of a diviner kind?* This looks very like to the fifth and sixth clauses of this testimony in Josephus, that *Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man*, that it is highly probable Origen thereby alludes to them: And this is the more to be depended on, because all the unbelieving Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews, esteemed Jesus with one consent as a *mere man*, the son of Joseph and Mary; and it is not, I think, possible to produce any one Jew but Josephus, who in a sort of compliance with the Romans and the catholic Christians, who thought him a *God*, would say any thing like his *being God*.

(4.) How came Origen to affirm twice, so expressly, that *Josephus did not himself own*, in the Jewish and Christian sense, *that Jesus was Christ*, notwithstanding his quotation of such eminent testimonies out of him for John the Baptist his forerunner, and for James the Just his brother, and on

of his
so like
before
he was
than
deriv
a sect
and h
such a
tion,
true
other
elsew
Jesus
that
that

IX
Theo
mer t
the la
Jews,
none
er au
with
Suida
Mem
wher
Josep
positi
in sus

XI
who
Josep
extra
tione
had b
days
them
py, b
and i
matte
seem

Vo

of his principal disciples? There is no passage in all Josephus so likely to persuade Origen of this as is the famous testimony before us, wherein, as he and all the ancients understood it, he was generally called *Christ* indeed, but not any otherwise than as the common name whence the sect of Christians was derived, and where he all along speaks of those Christians as a sect then in being, whose author was a wonderful person, and his followers great lovers of him and of the truth, yet as *such a sect as he had not joined himself to*. Which exposition, as it is a very natural one, so was it, I doubt, but too true of our Josephus at that time: Nor can I devise any other reason but this, and the parallel language of Josephus elsewhere, when he speaks of James as the *brother*, not of *Jesus who was Christ*, but of *Jesus who was called Christ*, that could so naturally induce Origen and others to be of that opinion.

IX. There are too remarkable passages in Suidas and Theophylact, already set down, as citing Josephus; the former that *Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple*, and the latter that the destruction of Jerusalem, and miseries of the Jews, were owing to their *putting Jesus to death*, which are in none of our present copies, nor cited thence by any ancient authors, nor indeed do they seem altogether consistent with the other more authentic testimonies: However, since Suidas cites his passage from a treatise of Josephus's, called *Memoirs of the Jews captivity*, a book never heard of elsewhere, and since both citations are not at all disagreeable to Josephus's character as a Nazarene or Ebionite, I dare not positively conclude they are spurious, but must leave them in suspense, for the farther consideration of the learned.

X. As to that great critic Photius, in the ninth century, who is supposed not to have had this testimony in his copy of Josephus, or else to have esteemed it spurious, because in his extracts out of Josephus's Antiquities it is not expressly mentioned. This is a strange thing indeed! that a section which had been cited out of Josephus's copies all along before the days of Photius, as well as it has been all along cited out of them since his days, should be supposed not to be in his copy, because he does not directly mention it in certain short and imperfect extracts, no way particularly relating to such matters. Those who lay a stress on this silence of Photius seem little to have attended to the nature and brevity of those

extracts. They contain little or nothing, as he in effect professes at their entrance, but what concerns Antipater, Herod the Great, and his brethren, and family, with their exploits, till the days of Agrippa *jun.* and Cumanus, the governor of Judea, fifteen years after the death of our Saviour, without one word of Pilate, or what happened under his government, which yet was the only proper place in which this testimony could come to be mentioned. However, since Photius seems therefore, as we have seen, to suspect the treatise ascribed by some to Josephus, *of the Universe*, because it speaks very high things of the eternal generation and divinity of Christ, this looks very like his knowledge and belief of somewhat really in the same Josephus, which spake in a lower manner of him, which could be hardly any other passage than this testimony before us. And since, as we have also seen, when he speaks of the Jewish history of Justice of Tiberias, as infected with the prejudices of the Jews, in taking no manner of notice of the advent, of the acts, and of the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet he never speaks so of Josephus himself, this most naturally implies also, that there was not the like occasion here as there, but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts, or miracles, which yet he has done every where else, in the books seen by Photius, as well as Justus of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us, so that it is most probable, Photius not only had this testimony in his copy, but believed it to be genuine also.

XI. As to the silence of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is no strange thing at all, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a point of chronology only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus, so that his silence may almost as well be alleged against an hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus's works as against these before us.

XII. Nor does the like silence of Tertullian imply that these testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any treatises of Josephus's but those against Apion, and that in general only, for a point of chronology: Nor does it any way appear that Tertullian ever saw any of Josephus's writings besides, and far from being certain that he saw even those. He had particular

lar oc
above
pheck
and m
course
occasi
either
of the
a La
Afric
cited
while
to me
of ve

lar occasion in his dispute against the Jews to quote Josephus, above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in the destruction of Jerusalem and miseries of the Jews at that time, of which he there discourses, yet does he never once quote him upon that solemn occasion; so that it seems to me, that Tertullian never read either the Greek Antiquities of Josephus, or his Greek books of the Jewish wars; nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latin writer, that lived in Africa, by none of which African writers is there any one clause, that I know of, cited out of any of Josephus's writings: nor is it worth my while in such numbers of positive citations of these clauses, to mention the silence of other later writers, as being here of very small consequence.

DISSERTATION II.

Concerning GOD's Command to ABRAHAM to offer up
ISAAC his Son for a Sacrifice.

SINCE this command of God to Abraham * has of late been greatly mistaken by some, who venture to reason about very ancient facts, from very modern notions, and this without a due regard to either the customs, or opinions, or circumstances of the times whereto those facts belong, or indeed to the true reasons of the facts themselves; since the mistakes about those customs, opinions, circumstances and reasons, have of late so far prevailed, that the very same action of Abraham's, which was so celebrated by St. Paul †, St. James ‡, the author to the Hebrews §, Philo ¶ and Josephus **, in the first century, and by innumerable others since, as an uncommon instance of signal virtue, of heroic faith in God, and piety towards him; nay, is in the sacred † history highly commended by the divine *Angel of the Covenant*, in the name of God himself, and promised to be plentifully rewarded; since this command, I say, is now at last in the eighteenth century, become a *stone of stumbling and a rock of offence* among us, and that sometimes to persons of otherwise good sense, and of a religious disposition of mind also, I shall endeavour to set this matter in its true *i. e.* in its ancient and original light, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive. In order whereto we are to consider,

I. That till this very prophane age, it has been, I think universally allowed by all sober persons, who owned themselves the creatures of God, that the Creator has a just right over all his rational creatures, to protract their lives to

* Gen. xxii.

† Rom. iv 16,—25.

‡ Jam. ii. 21, 22

§ Heb. xi. 17, 18, 19.

§ Phil. de Gyant. p. 294.

* Jos. Antiq. B. I. ch. xiii.

† Gen. xxii. 15,—18.

what length he pleases; to cut them off when and by what instruments he pleases; to afflict them with what sicknesses he pleases; and to remove them from one state or place in this his great palace of the universe to another, as he pleases; and that all those rational creatures are bound in duty and interest to acquiesce under the divine disposal, and to resign themselves up to the good providence of God in all such his dispensations towards them. I do not mean to intimate, that God may, or ever does act in these cases after a meer arbitrary manner, or without sufficient reason, believing, according to the whole tenor of natural and revealed religion, that *he hateth nothing that he hath made* *; that whatsoever he does, how melancholy soever it may appear at first sight to us, is really intended for the good of his creatures, and at the upshot of things, will fully appear so to be; but that still he is not obliged, nor does in general give his creatures an account of the particular reasons of such his dispensations towards them immediately, but usually tries and exercises their faith and patience, their resignation and obedience, in their present state of probation, and reserves those reasons to the last day, *the day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God* †.

2. That the entire histories of the past ages, from the days of Adam till now, shews, that Almighty God has ever exercised his power over mankind, and that without giving them an immediate account of the reasons of such his conduct; and that withal the best and wisest men in all ages, Heathens as well as Jews, and Christians, Marcus Antonius, as well as the patriarch Abraham, and St. Paul, have ever humbly submitted themselves to this conduct of the divine providence, and always confessed that they were obliged to the undeserved goodness and mercy of God for every enjoyment, but could not demand any of them of his justice, no not so much as the continuance of that life whereto those enjoyments do appertain. When God was pleased to sweep the wicked race of men away by a flood, the young innocent infants, as well as the guilty old sinners; when he was pleased to shorten the lives of men after the flood, and still downward till the days of David and Solomon; when he was pleased to destroy impure Sodom and Gomorrha by fire and brimstone from heaven, and to extirpate the main body of the Amorites out of the land of

Canaan,

c 3

* Wisd. xi. 24.

† Rom. ii. 5.

Canaan, as soon as *their iniquities were full* *, and in these instances included the young innocent infants, together with the old hardened sinners; when God was pleased to send an angel, and by him to destroy 185,000 Assyrians, (the number attested to by Berosus the Chaldean, as well as by our own Bibles), in the days of Hezekiah, most of which seem to have had no other peculiar guilt upon them than that common to soldiers in war, of obeying, without reserve, their King Senacherib, his generals and captains; and when at the plague of Athens, London, or Marseilles, &c. so many thousand righteous men and women, with innocent babes, were swept away on a sudden by a fatal contagion, I do not remember that sober men have complained that God dealt *unjustly* with such his creatures, in those to us seemingly severe dispensations: Nor are we certain when any such seemingly severe dispensations are really such, nor do we know but shortening the lives of men may sometimes be the greatest blessing to them, and prevent or put a stop to those courses of gross wickedness which might bring them to greater misery in the world to come: nor is it indeed fit for such poor, weak, and ignorant creatures as we are, in the present state, to call our Almighty, and All-wise, and All-good Creator and Benefactor, to an account upon any such occasions; since we cannot but acknowledge, that it is *he that hath made us, and not we ourselves* †; that we are nothing, and have nothing of ourselves, independent on him, but that all we are, all we have, and all we hope for, is derived from him, from his free and undeserved bounty, which therefore he may justly take from us in what way soever; and whensoever he pleases; all wise and good men still saying in such cases with the pious Psalmist, xxxix. 9. *I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it*; and with patient Job i. 21. ii. 10. *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall not we receive evil? The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away. blessed be the name of the Lord.* If therefore this shortening or taking away the lives of men be no objection against any divine command for that purpose, it is full as strong against the present system of the world, against the conduct of divine providence in general, and against natural religion, which is founded on the justice of that providence, and is no way peculiar to revealed religion, or to the fact of Abraham now before us: Nor in this case much different

from

* Gen. xv. 16.

† Psal. c. 3.

different from what was soon after the days of Abraham thoroughly settled, after Job's and his friends debates, by the inspiration of Alihu, and the determination of God himself, where the divine providence was at length thoroughly cleared and justified before all the world, as it will be, no question, more generally cleared and justified at the final judgment.

3. That, till this profane age, it has also, I think, been universally allowed by all sober men, that a command of God, when sufficiently made known to be so, is abundant authority for the taking away the life of any person whomsoever. I doubt both ancient and modern princes, generals of armies, and judges, even those of the best reputation also, have ventured to take many mens lives away upon much less authority: Nor indeed do the most sceptical of the moderns care to deny this authority directly; they rather take a method of objecting somewhat more plausible, though it amount to much the same: they say, that the apparent disagreement of any command to the moral attributes of God, such as this of the slaughter of an only child seems plainly to be, will be a greater evidence that such a command does not come from God, than any pretended revelation can be that it does. But as to this matter, although divine revelations have now so long ceased, that we are not well acquainted with the manner of conveying such revelations with certainty to men, and by consequence the apparent disagreement of a command with the moral attributes of God, ought at present, generally, if not constantly, to deter men from acting upon such a pretended revelation, yet was there no such uncertainty in the days of the old prophets of God, or of Abraham, *the friend of God**, who are ever found to have had an entire certainty of those their revelations: And what evidently shews they were not deceived, is this, that the events and consequences of things afterward always corresponded, and secured them of the truth of such divine revelations. Thus the first miraculous voice from heaven †, calling to Abraham not to execute this command, and the performance of those eminent promises made by the second voice ‡, on account of his obedience to that command, are demonstrations that Abraham's commission for what he did was truly divine, and are an entire justification of his conduct in this matter. The words of the first voice from heaven will come hereafter to be set down in a fitter place, but the glorious promises made to Abraham's obedience

* Isa. xli. 8.

† Gen. xxii. 11. 12.

‡ Gen. xxii. 17. 18.

ance by the second voice, must here be produced from verse 15, 16, 17, 18. *And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time, and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies: and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice.* Every one of which promises have been eminently fulfilled; and, what is chiefly remarkable, the last and principal of them, that in *Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed*, was never promised till this time. It had been twice promised him, chap. xii. ver. 3. and xviii. 18. that in *himself should all the families of the earth be blessed*, but that this blessing was to belong to future times, and to be bestowed by the means of one of his late posterity, the Messiah, that great *seed* and *son* of Abraham, only, was never revealed before, but on such an amazing instance of his faith and obedience as was this his readiness to offer up his only begotten son Isaac, was now first promised, and has been long ago performed, in the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, *the son of David, the son of Abraham* *, which highly deserves our observation in this place: Nor can we suppose that any thing else than clear conviction that this command came from God, could induce so good a man, and so tender a father as Abraham was, to sacrifice his own beloved son, and to lose thereby all the comfort he received from him at present, and all the expectation he had of a numerous and happy posterity from him hereafter.

4. That long before the days of Abraham, the dæmons or heathen gods had required and received human sacrifices, and particularly that of the offerer's own children, and this both before and after the deluge. This practice had been indeed so long left off in Egypt, and the custom of sacrificing animals there was confined to so few kinds in the days of Herodotus, that he would not believe they had ever offered human sacrifices at all: For he says †, “That the fable, as if Hercules was sacrificed to Jupiter in Egypt, was feigned by the Greeks, who were entirely unacquainted with the

“ nature

* Matth. i. 1.

† Ap. Marsh. Chron. p. 303.

nature of the Egyptians, and their laws, for how should they sacrifice men, with whom it is unlawful to sacrifice any brute beast? (boars, and bulls, and pure calves, and ganders, only excepted)." However, it is evident from Sanchoniatho, Manetho, Pausanias, Diodorus Siculus, Philo, Plutarch, and Porphyry, that such sacrifices were frequent both in Phœnicia and Egypt, and that long before the days of Abraham, as Sir John Marsham and Bishop Cumberland have fully proved; nay, that in other places, (though not in Egypt), this cruel practice continued long after Abraham, and this till the very third, if not also to the fifth century of Christianity, before it was quite abolished. Take the words of the original authors in English, as most of them occur in their originals in Sir John Marsham's Chronicon, p. 76, 77, 78, 300,—304.

"Cronus * offered up his only begotten son, as a burnt-offering, to his father Ouranus, when there was a famine and a pestilence."

"† Cronus, whom the Phœnicians name *Israel* [it should be *Il*], and who was after his death consecrated into the star Saturn, when he was king of the country, and had by a nymph of that country, named *Anobret*, an only begotten son, whom, on that account, they called *Jend*, (the Phœnicians to this day calling an only begotten son by that name), he, in his dread of very great dangers that lay upon the country from war, adorned his son with royal apparel, and built an altar, and offered him in sacrifice."

"The ‡ Phœnicians, when they were in great dangers by war, by famine, or by pestilence, sacrificed to Saturn one of the dearest of their people, whom they chose by public suffrage for that purpose: And Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history is full of such sacrifices. [These hitherto I take to have been before the flood]."

"In Arabia, the Dumatii sacrificed a child every year ||."

"§ They relate that of old the [Egyptian] kings sacrificed such men as were of the same colour with Typho, at the sepulchre of Osiris."

"¶ Manetho relates, that they burnt Typhonean men
" alive

* Philo Bib. ex Sanchon. p. 76.

† Philo Bib. ex Sanchon. p. 77.

‡ Porphyry, p. 77.

|| Porphyry, p. 77.

§ Diod. p. 78.

¶ Plutarch, p. 78.

“ live in the city Idithyia, [or Ilithyia], and scattered the
 “ ashes like chaff that is winnowed; and this was done
 “ publicly, and at a set season, in the dog-days.”
 “ * The barbarous nations did a long time admit of the
 “ slaughter of children, as of an holy practice, and acceptable
 “ to the gods.—And this thing both private persons
 “ and kings, and entire nations, practise at proper seasons
 “ † The human sacrifices that were enjoined by the Dodonean
 “ oracle, mentioned in Pausanias’s *Achaïcs*, in the
 “ tragical story of Corefus and Callirrhoe, sufficiently im-
 “ mate that the Phœnician and Egyptian priests had set up
 “ this Dodonean oracle before the time of Amosis, who de-
 “ stroyed that barbarous practice in Egypt.”

— *Isque adytis hæc tristia dicta reportat,
 Sanguine placatis ventos, & virgine cæsa,
 Cum primum Iliacas Danaï venistis ad oras;
 Sanguine quærendi reditus, animaque litandum
 Argolica ‡.*

— He from the gods this dreadful answer brought,
 O Grecians, when the Trojan shores you sought,
 Your passage with a virgin’s blood was bought;
 So must your safe return be bought again,
 And Grecian blood once more atone the main.

DRYDEN.

These bloody sacrifices were, for certain, instances of the
 greatest degree of impiety, tyranny, and cruelty, in the world
 that either wicked dæmons, or wicked men, who neither
 made, nor preserved mankind, who had therefore no right
 over them, nor were they able to make them amends in the
 next world for what they thus lost or suffered in this, should
 after so inhuman a manner, command the taking away the
 lives of men, and particularly of the offerer’s own children,
 without the commission of any crime. This was, I think,
 an abomination derived from him who was a || murderer from
 the beginning; a crime truly and properly diabolical.

5. That accordingly Almighty God himself, under the
 Jewish dispensation, vehemently condemned the Pagans, and
 sometimes

* Nonnulli ap. Philon. p. 76.

† Cumberl. Sanchon. p. 378.

‡ Virg. *Æneid.* B. II. ver. 115.

|| John viii. 44.

sometimes the Jews themselves for this crime; and for this, among other heinous sins, cast the idolatrous nations (nay sometimes the Jews too) out of Palestine. Take the principal texts hereto relating, as they lie in order in the Old Testament.

* Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech.—Defile not yourselves in any of these things, for in all these the nations are defiled, which I cast out before you, &c.

† Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones."

‡ Take heed to thyself, that thou be not snared by following the nations, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou enquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods, even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God; for every abomination of the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods, for even their sons and their daughters have they burnt in the fire to their gods. See chap. xviii. 10. 2 Kings xvii. 17."

|| And Ahaz made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel."

§ Moreover Ahaz burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children [his son in Josephus] in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel."

¶ And the Sepharites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech, and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharaim," &c.

* And Josiah defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire unto Molech."

† Yea they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons; and shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols
" of

* Lev. xviii. 21.

† Lev. xx. 2.

‡ Deut. xii. 30, 31.

|| 2 Kings xvi. 3.

§ 2 Chron. xxviii. 3.

¶ 2 Kings xvii. 31.

* 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

† Psalm. xvi. 37, 38.

" of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood. See
 " If. lvii. 5."

" * The children of Judah hath done evil in my sight
 " saith the Lord; they have set their abominations in the
 " house which is called by my name, to pollute it: And
 " they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in
 " the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and
 " their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them
 " not, nor came it into my heart."

" † Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, be-
 " hold I will bring evil upon this place, the which who-
 " ever heareth his ears shall tingle, because they have for-
 " saken me, and have estranged this place, and have burnt
 " incense unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fa-
 " thers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have
 " filled this place with the blood of innocents. They have
 " built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with
 " fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded
 " not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind," &c.

" ‡ They built the high places of Baal, which are in the
 " valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their
 " daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech, which
 " commanded them not, neither came it into my mind that
 " they should do this abomination, to cause Judah to sin."

" || Moreover thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters
 " whom thou hast born unto me, and these hast thou sacri-
 " ficed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy whoredom
 " a small matter, that thou hast slain my children, and de-
 " vered them to cause them to pass through the fire for
 " them?" See ch. xx. 26. 1 Cor. x. 20.

" § Thou hatest the old inhabitants of thy holy land, for
 " doing most odious works of witchcraft, and wicked sacri-
 " fices; and also those merciless murderers of children, and
 " devourers of man's flesh, and feasters of blood, with their
 " priests, out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and
 " the parents that killed with their own hands souls destitute
 " of help."

6. That Almighty God never permitted, in any one in-
 stance, that such a human sacrifice should actually be offered

* Jer. vii. 30, 31, 32.

† Jer. xix. 3, 4, 5.

‡ Jer. xxxii. 35.

|| Ezek. xvi. 20, 21.

§ Wisd. xii. 4, 5, 6.

to himself, (though he had a right to have required it, if he had so pleased), under the whole Jewish dispensation, which yet was full of many other kinds of sacrifices, and this at a time when mankind generally thought such sacrifices of the greatest virtue for the procuring pardon of sin, and the divine favour. This the ancient record of the heathen world attest. Take their notion in the words of Philo Byblius, the translator of Sanchoniatho: " * It was the custom of the ancients, in the greatest calamities and dangers, for the governors of the city or nation, in order to avert the destruction of all, to devote their beloved son to be slain, as a price of redemption to the punishing [or avenging] dæmons; and those so devoted were killed after a mystical manner." This the history of the King of Moab †, when he was in great distress in his war against Israel and Judah, informs us of; who then *took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the city wall.* This also the Jewish prophet Micah implies, when he enquires *Wherewith shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before the High God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, with ten thousands of fat kids of the goats? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?* No certainly, *For he hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to humble thyself to walk with thy God?*

It is true, God did here try the faith and obedience of Abraham to himself, whether they were as strong as the Pagans exhibited to their dæmons or idols, yet did he withal take effectual care, and that by a miraculous interposition also, to prevent the execution, and provided himself a ram, as a vicarious substitute, to supply the place of Isaac immediately: || *And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham, and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I: And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold*

VOL. I. d

a ram

* Ap. Matth. p. 76. 77.

† 2 Kings iii. 27.

‡ Mic. vi. 6, 7, 8.

|| Gen. xxii. 11, 12, 13.

a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. Thus though Jephtha * has, by many, been thought to have vowed to offer up his only daughter and child for a sacrifice, and that as bound on him; upon supposition of his vow, by a divine law, Levit. xxvii. 28, 29, of which opinion I was once myself, yet upon more mature consideration I have, for some time, thought this to be a mistake, and that his vow extended only to her being devoted to serve God at the tabernacle, or elsewhere, in a state of perpetual virginity; and that neither that law did enjoin any human sacrifices, nor do we meet with any example of its execution in this sense afterwards. Philo never mentions any such law, no more than Josephus: And when Josephus thought that Jephtha had made such a vow, and executed it, he is so far from hinting at its being done in compliance with any law of God, that he expressly condemns him for it, as having acted contrary thereto; or, in his own words †, “as having offered an oblation neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.”

7. That Isaac being at this time, according to Josephus ‡, who is herein justly followed by Archb. Usher||, no less than twenty-five years of age, and Abraham being, by consequence, one hundred and twenty-five, it is not to be supposed that Abraham could bind Isaac, in order to offer him in sacrifice, but by his own free consent; which free consent of the party who is to suffer seems absolutely necessary in all such cases: and which free consent St. Clement, as well as Josephus, distinctly takes notice of on this occasion. St. Clement describes it thus: “§ Isaac being fully persuaded of what he knew was to come, cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice.” And for Josephus ¶, after introducing Abraham in a pathetic speech, laying before Isaac the divine command, and exhorting him patiently and joyfully to submit to it, he tells us, that “Isaac very cheerfully consented;” and then introduces him in a short, but very pious answer, acquiescing in the proposal; and adds, that “he then immediately and readily

went

* Judg. xi. 36,—39.

† Antiq. B. V. 7,—10.

‡ Antiq. B. I. ch. ii.

|| Ush. Annal. ad A. M. 2133.

§ 1 Clem. § 31.

¶ Antiq. B. I. ch. xiii. § 3.

ent to the altar to be sacrificed." Nor did Jephtha * perform his rash vow, whatever it were, till his daughter had given her consent to it.

8. It appears to me that Abraham never despaired entirely of the interposition of providence for the preservation of Isaac, although in obedience to the command he prepared to sacrifice him to God. This seems to me intimated in Abraham's words to his servants, on the third day, when he was in sight of the mountain on which he was to offer his son Isaac, † *We will go and worship, and we will come again to you.* As also in his answer to his son, when he inquired, *Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?* And Abraham said, *My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering.* Both these passages look to me somewhat like such an expectation. However,

9. It appears most evident, that Abraham, and I suppose Isaac also, firmly believed, that if God should permit Isaac to be actually slain as a sacrifice, he would certainly and speedily raise him again from the dead. This, to be sure, is supposed in the words already quoted, that both *he and his son would go and worship, and come again to the servants;* and is clearly and justly collected from this history by the author to the Hebrews, ch. xi. 17, 18, 19. *By faith Abraham when he was tried offered up Isaac; and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten, of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called, accounting, or reasoning, that God was able to raise him from the dead.* And this reasoning was at once very obvious, and wholly undeniable, that since God was truth itself, and had over and over promised that he would ‡ *multiply Abraham exceedingly;* that *he should be a father of many nations;* that *his name should be no longer Abram, but Abraham, because a father of many nations God had made him, &c.;* that *Sarai his wife should be called Sarah;* that *he would bless her, and give Abraham a son also of her;* and that *he would bless him, and she should become nations, and kings of people should be of her, &c.;* and that || *in Isaac should his seed be called.* And since withal it is here supposed, that Isaac was to be slain as a sacrifice, before he was married, or

d 2

had

* Judg. xi. 36, 37.

† Gen. xvii. 2, 4, 5, 6, 16.

‡ Gen. xxii. 5, 7,

|| Gen. xxi. 12.

had any seed, God was, for certain, obliged by his promise in these circumstances, to raise Isaac again from the dead, and this was an eminent instance of that *faith*, whereby * *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness*, viz. that if God should permit Isaac to be sacrificed, he would certainly and quickly raise him up again from the dead, † *from whence also he received him in a figure* as the author to the He'brews here justly observes.

10. That the firm and just foundation of Abraham's faith and assurance in God for such a resurrection was this: Besides the general consideration of the divine veracity, that during the whole time of his sojourning in strange countries in Canaan and Egypt, ever since he had been called out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia at seventy-five years of age, he had ‡ had constant experience of a special, of an over-ruling, of a kind and gracious providence over him, till this his 125th year, which against all human views had continually blessed him, and enriched him, and, in his elder age, had given him first Ishmael by Hagar; and afterward promised him Isaac to || *spring from his own body now dead, § and from the deadness of Sarah's womb, when she was past age, and when it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women ¶*, and had actually performed that and every other promise, how improbable soever that performance had appeared, he had ever made to him, and this during fifty entire years together; so that although at his first exit out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia he might have been tempted to *sagger at such a promise of God through unbelief* *, yet might he now after fifty years constant experience, be justly *strong in faith, giving glory to God, as being fully persuaded, that what God had promised, the resurrection of Isaac, he was both able and willing to perform*.

11. That this assurance therefore, that God, if he permitted Isaac to be slain, would infallibly raise him again from the dead, entirely alters the state of the case of Abraham's sacrificing Isaac to the true God, from that of all other human sacrifices whatsoever offered to false ones, all those others being done without the least promise or prospect of such

* Gen. xv. 6.

† Heb. xi. 19.

‡ Gen. xii. 4.

|| Rom. iv. 19.

§ Heb. xi. 11.

¶ Gen. xviii. 11.

* Rom. iv. 20, 21.

such a resurrection; and this indeed takes away all pretence of injustice in the divine command, as well as of all inhumanity or cruelty in Abraham's obedience to it.

12. That, upon the whole, this command to Abraham, and what followed upon it, looks so very like an intention of God to typify or represent before hand in Isaac, a *beloved*, or *only begotten son*. what was to happen long afterward to the great *son and seed of Abraham*, the *Messiah*, the *beloved* and *the only begotten of the Father*, whose day Abraham saw by faith before hand, and rejoiced to see it *, viz. that he should be crucified, and slain †, as a sacrifice, and should be raised again the third day, and this at Jerusalem also; and that in the mean time, God would accept of the sacrifices of rams, and the like animals, at the same city Jerusalem, that one cannot easily avoid the application. This seems the reason why Abraham was obliged to go to the land of Moriah, or Jerusalem; and why it is noted, that it was the third day ‡ that he came to the place, which implies that the return back, after the slaying of the sacrifice, would naturally be the third day also; and why this sacrifice was not Ishmael the son of the flesh only, but Isaac the son by promise, the beloved son of Abraham, and why Isaac was styled the only son, or only begotten son of Abraham, though he had Ishmael besides; and why Isaac himself was to bear the wood || on which he was to be sacrificed §; and why the place was no other than * the land of Moriah or vision, i. e. most probably a place where the Shecinah or Messiah had been seen, and God by him worshipped, even before the days of Abraham, and where lately lived, and perhaps now lived Melchisedeck, the grand type of the Messiah (who might then possibly be present at the sacrifice), and why this sacrifice was to be offered either on the mountain called afterward distinctly *Moriab*, where the temple stood, and where all the Mosaic sacrifices were afterward to be offered, as Josephus † and the generality suppose, or perhaps, as others suppose, that where the Messiah himself was to be offered, its neighbour mount Calvary. This seems also the reason why the ram

d 3

was

* John viii. 56.

† Acts ii. 33.

‡ Gen. xxii. 2. 4.

|| Heb. xi. 17.

§ Gen. xxii. 6.

* John xix. 17.

† Antiq. B. I. ch. xiii. § 2.

was substituted as a vicarious sacrifice instead of Isaac: These circumstances seem to me very peculiar and extraordinary, and to render the present hypothesis extremely probable. Nor perhaps did St. Clement mean any thing else, when, in his fore-cited passage, he says, That "Isaac was fully persuaded of what he knew was to come," and therefore "cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice." Nor indeed does that name of this place, *Jehovah Jireh*, which continued till the days of Moses, and signified, *God will see*, or rather *God will provide*, seem to be given it by Abraham, on any other account, than that God would there, in the fullness of time, *provide himself a lamb* [that * *lamb of God which was to take away the sins of the world*] *for a burnt-offering*.

But now if, after all, it be objected, that how peculiar and how typical soever the circumstances of Abraham and Isaac might be in themselves, of which the heathens about them could have little notion, yet such a divine command to Abraham for slaying his beloved son Isaac, must however be of very ill example to the Gentile world, and that it probably did either first occasion, or at least greatly encourage their wicked practices, in offering their children for sacrifices to their idols, I answer by the next consideration :

13. That this objection is so far from truth, that God's public and miraculous prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, (which command itself the Gentiles would not then at all be surpris'd at, because it was so like to their own usual practices), as well as God's substitution of a vicarious oblation, seem to have been the very occasion of the immediate *abolition* of those impious sacrifices by Tethmosis, or Amosis, among the neighbouring Egyptians, and of the *substitution* of more inoffensive ones there instead of them. Take the account of this abolition, which we shall presently prove was about the time of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac, as it is preserved by Porphyry, from Manetho, the famous Egyptian historian and chronologer, which is also cited from Porphyry by Eusebius and Theodorit : "† Amosis, says Porphyry, abolished the law for slaying of men in Heliopolis of Egypt, as Manetho bears witness in his book of Antiquity and Piety. They were sacrificed to Juno, and were examined, as were the pure calves, that were also sealed with them : they were sacrificed three in

* John i. 29.

† Mariti. p. 301.

a day. In whose stead Amosis commanded that men of wax, of the same number, should be substituted."

Now I have lately shewn, that these Egyptians had Abraham in great veneration, and that *all the wisdom of those Egyptians, in which Moses was afterward learned*, was derived from no other than from Abraham. Now it appears evidently by the fore-cited passage, that the first abolition of these human sacrifices, and the substitution of waxen images in their stead, and particularly at Heliopolis, in the north-east part of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Beersheba, in the south of Palestine, where Abraham now lived, at the distance of about a hundred and twenty miles only, was in the days, and by the order of Tethmosis or Amosis, who was the first of the Egyptian kings, after the expulsion of the Phenician shepherds. Now therefore we are to enquire when this Tethmosis or Amosis lived, and compare his time with the time of the sacrifice of Isaac. Now if we look into my chronological table, published *A.D.* 1721, we shall find that the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Abraham, or, which is all one, the twenty-fifth year of Isaac, falls into *A.M.* 2573, or into the thirteenth year of Tethmosis or Amosis, which is the very middle of his twenty-five years reign; so that this abolition of human sacrifices in Egypt, and substitution of others in their room, seems to have been occasioned by the solemn prohibition of such a sacrifice in the case of Abraham, and by the following substitution of a ram in its stead: Which account of this matter not only takes away the groundless suspicions of the moderns, but shews the great reasonableness of the divine prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, as probably the direct occasion of putting a stop to the barbarity of the Egyptians in offering human sacrifices, and that for many, if not for all generations afterward.

DISSERTATION III.

TACITUS's *Accounts of the Origin of the JEWISH NATION, and of the particulars of the last Jewish War, that the former was probably written in opposition to Josephus's ANTIQUITIES, and that the latter was for certain almost all directly taken from Josephus's History of the JEWISH WAR.*

SINCE Tacitus, the famous Roman historian, who has written more largely and professedly about the origin of the Jewish nation, about the chorography of Judea, and the last Jewish war under Cestius, Vespasian, and Titus, than any other old Roman historian; and since both Josephus and Tacitus were in favour with the same Roman Emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and since Tacitus was an eminent pleader and writer of history at Rome, during the time or not long after our Josephus had been there studying the Greek language, reading the Greek books, and writing his own works in the same Greek language, which language was almost universally known at Rome in that age; and since therefore it is next to impossible to suppose that Tacitus could be unacquainted with the writings of Josephus, it cannot but be highly proper to compare their accounts of Judea, of the Jews, and Jewish affairs, together. Nor is it other than a very surprising paradox to me, how it has been possible for learned men, particularly for the several learned editors of Josephus and Tacitus, to be so very silent about this matter as they have hitherto been, especially when not only the correspondence of the authors as to time and place, but the likeness of the subject-matter and circumstances is so very often, so very remarkable; nay indeed, since many of the particular facts

belonged

belonged peculiarly to the region of Judea, and to the Jewish nation, and are such as could hardly be taken by a foreigner from any other author than from our Josephus, his strange silence is almost unaccountable, if not inexcusable. The two only other writers whom we know of, when such Jewish affairs might be supposed to be taken by Tacitus, who never appears to be in Judea himself, are Justus of Tiberias, a Jewish historian, contemporary with Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, once mentioned by Minutius Felix, in his Octavius, § 33. as having written on the same subject with Josephus, and both already mentioned by me on another occasion, Dissert. I. As to Justus of Tiberias, he could not be the historian whence Tacitus took his Jewish affairs, because, as we have seen, in the place just cited, the principal passage in Tacitus of that nature, concerning Christ, and his sufferings under the Emperor Tiberius, and by his procurator Pontius Pilate, was not there, as we know from the testimony of Photius, Cod. xxx. And as to Antonius Julianus, his very name shews him to have been not a Jew but a Roman. He is never mentioned by Josephus, and so probably knew no more of the country or affairs of Judea than Tacitus himself. He was, I suppose, rather an epitomizer of Josephus, and not so early as Tacitus, than an original historian himself before him. Nor could so exact a writer as Tacitus ever take up with such poor and almost unknown historians as these were, while Josephus's seven books of the Jewish War were then so common; were in such great reputation at Rome; were attested to, and recommended by Vespasian, and Titus, the Emperors, by King Agrippa, and King Archelaus, and Herod King of Chalcis; and he was there honoured with a statue: and these his books were repositied at the public library at Rome, as we know from Josephus himself, from Eusebius, and Jerom, while we never hear of any other history of the Jews that had then and there any such attestations or recommendations. Some things indeed Tacitus might take from the Roman records of this war, I mean from the Commentaries of Vespasian, which are mentioned by Josephus himself, in his own Life, § 65. vol. IV. and some others from the relations of Roman people, where the affairs of Rome were concerned; as also other affairs might be remembered by old officers and soldiers that had been in the Jewish war. Accordingly I still suppose that

that Tacitus had some part of his information these ways, and particularly where he a little differs from or makes additions to Josephus: But then, as this will all reach no farther than three or four years during this war, so will it by no means account for that abridgement of the geography of the country and entire series of the principal facts of history thereto relating, which are in Tacitus, from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, 240 years before that war, with which Antiochus both Josephus and Tacitus begin their distinct histories of the Jews, preparatory to the history of this last war. Nor could Tacitus take the greatest part of those earlier facts belonging to the Jewish nation from the days of Moses, or to Christ and the Christians in the days of Tiberius, from Roman authors of which Jewish and Christian affairs those authors had usually very little knowledge, and which the heathen generally did grossly pervert and shamefully falsify: and this is so true as to Tacitus's own accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, that the reader may almost take it for a constant rule that when Tacitus contradicts Josephus's Jewish Antiquities, he either tells direct falsehoods, or truths so miserably disguised, as renders them little better than falsehoods, and hardly ever light upon any thing relating to them that is true and solid but when the same is in those Antiquities at this day; of which matters more will be said in the notes on his history immediately following.

HISTORY of the JEWS.

BOOK V. CHAP. II.

SINCE we are now going to relate the final period of this famous city [Jerusalem], it seems proper to give an account of its original*.—The tradition is, that the Jews ran away from the island of Crete, and settled themselves on the coast of Libya, and this at the time when Saturn was driven out of his kingdom by the power of Jupiter: An argument for it is fetched from their name. The mountain Ida is famous in Crete; and the neighbouring inhabitants

* Most of these stories are so entirely groundless, and so contradictory to one another, that they do not deserve a serious confutation. It is strange Tacitus could persuade himself thus crudely to set them down.

named *Ida*
name of
t were v
t the Egy
o the adjo
s and Ju
hiopians,
ations, in
ich repor
t together
tled them
ebrews, a
thers pret
e Solymi,
unders of
yma to t

CHAP.
infectiou
es impure
ter] Ham
ainst this
on of the
es as hat
d gotten
at hereu
ivity; b
em to lo
y of ma
d them
lp they

* One w
e African
uld be th
† This
ve from
t This T
2. vol. I
|| Strang
at the g
res. Ap
§ This
tion of T

named *Idæi*, which, with a barbarous augment, becomes the name of *Judæi* [Jews]. Some say they were a people that were very numerous in Egypt under the reign of Isis, and that the Egyptians got free from that burden, by sending them to the adjoining countries, under their captains Hierosolymus and Judas. The greatest part say, they were those Ethiopians, whom fear and hatred obliged to change their habitations, in the reign of King Cepheus *. There are those which report that they were Assyrians, who wanting lands, came together, and obtained part of Egypt, and soon afterward settled themselves in cities of their own, in the lands of the Hebrews, and the parts of Syria that lay nearest to them †. Others pretend their origin to be more eminent, and that the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homer's poems, were the founders of this nation, and give this their own name Hierosolyma to the city, which they built there ‡.

CHAP. III.] Many authors agree, that when once an infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt, and made mens bodies impure, Bocchoris their King went to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and begged he would grant him some relief against this evil, and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of men into other countries as hateful to the gods ||. That when he had sought for, and gotten them all together, they were left in a vast desert: that hereupon the rest devoted themselves to weeping and inactivity; but one of those exiles, *Moses* by name, advised them to look for no assistance from any of the gods, or from any of mankind, since they had been abandoned by both, but that they should believe in him, as in a celestial leader §, by whose help they had already gotten clear of their present miseries.

They

* One would wonder how Tacitus, or any heathens, could suppose the African Ethiopians under Cepheus, who are known to be Blacks, could be the parent of the Jews, who are known to be Whites.

† This accounts comes nearest the truth, and this Tacitus might have from Josephus, only disguised by himself.

‡ This Tacitus might have out of Josephus, *Antiq. B. VII. ch. iii. 2. vol. II.*

|| Strange doctrine to Josephus! who truly observes on this occasion, that the gods are angry not at bodily imperfections but at wicked practices. *Apion, B. I. § 28. vol. VI.*

§ This believing in Moses as in a celestial leader, seems a blind conclusion of Tacitus that Moses professed to have his laws from God.

They agreed to it; and though they were unacquainted with every thing, they began their journey at random: But nothing tired them so much as want of water; and now they laid themselves down on the ground to a great extent, as just ready to perish, when an herd of wild asses came from feeding, and went to a rock overshadowed by a grove of trees. Moses followed them, as conjecturing that there was [thereabouts] some grassy soil, and so he opened large sources of water for them *. That was an ease to them; and when they had journeyed continually † six entire days, on the seventh they drove out the inhabitants, and obtained those lands wherein their city and temple were dedicated.

CHAP. IV.] As for Moses, in order to secure the nation firmly to himself, he ordained new rites, and such as were contrary to those of other men. All things are with them profane which with us are sacred; and again, those practices are allowed among them which are by us esteemed most abominable ‡.

They place the image of that animal in their most holy place, by whose indication it was that they had escaped their wandering condition and their thirst ||.

They sacrifice rams by way of reproach, to [Jupiter] Hammon. An ox is also sacrificed, which the Egyptians worship under the name of *Apis* §.

They abstain from swine's flesh, as a memorial of their miserable destruction which the mange, to which that creature is liable, brought on them. and with which they have been defiled *.

* This looks also like a plain confession of Tacitus's, that Moses brought the Jews water out of a rock in great plenty, which he might have from Josephus, Antiq. B. III. ch. i. § 7.

† Strange indeed! that 600,000 men should travel above 200 miles over the deserts of Arabia, in six days, and conquer Judea the seventh.

‡ This is not true in general, but only so far, that the Israelites were by circumcision and other rites to be kept separate from the wicked and idolatrous nations about them.

|| This strange story contradicts what the same Tacitus will tell us presently, that when Pompey went into the holy of holies he found no image there.

§ These are only guesses of Tacitus's, or of his heathen author's, but no more.

* Such memorials of what must have been very reproachful, are strangers to the rest of mankind, and without any probability.

That
their fro
the eart
which i

It is
cause th
Besides
ing plea
nour th
this par
togethe
were th

star Sat
nets ex
kind ar
bodies
ing to t

CHA
were fir
of their
by their
his fore

VOL.

* The
great da
† Un
‡ It is
Jews se
or Sabb
as every

|| A
out all g
year of j

§ As
the Gre
the wee
time: A
they eve

* TT
was an
were pe
deep in

† Th
ish settl

‡ W
citus do

That they had endured a long famine, they attest still by their frequent fastings *. And that they stole the fruits of the earth, we have an argument from the bread of the Jews, which is unleavened †.

It is generally supposed they rest on the † seventh day, because that day gave them [the first] rest from their labours. Besides which, they are idle on every || seventh year, as being pleased with a lazy life. Others say, that they do honour thereby to § Saturn; or perhaps the Idæi gave them this part of their religion, [as we said above] were expelled together with Saturn, and who, as we have been informed, were the founders of this nation; or else it was because the star Saturn moves in the highest orb, and of the seven planets exerts the principal part of that energy whereby mankind are governed: and indeed the most of the heavenly bodies exert their power, and perform their courses according to the number seven *.

CHAP. V.] These rites, by what manner soever they were first begun, are supported by their antiquity †. The rest of their institutions are † awkward, impure, and got ground by their pravity: For every vile fellow, despising the rites of his forefathers, brought thither their tribute and contributions,

VOL. I.

e

tions,

* The Jews had but one solemn fast of old in the whole year, the great day of expiation.

† Unleavened bread was only used at the passover.

‡ It is very strange that Tacitus should not know or confess that the Jews *seventh day*, and *seventh year* of rest, were in memory of the seventh, or Sabbath-day's rest, after the six days of creation. Every Jew, as well as every Christian, could have informed him of those matters.

|| A strange hypothesis of the origin of the sabbatic year, and without all good foundation. Tacitus probably had never heard of the Jews *year of jubilee*, so he says nothing of it.

§ As if the Jews, in the days of Moses, or long before, knew that the Greeks and Romans would long afterward call the seventh day of the week *Saturn's-day*; which Dio observes was not so called of old time: And it is a question whether before the Jews fell into idolatry, they ever heard of such a star or god as Saturn. Amos v. 25. Acts vii. 43.

* That the sun, moon, and stars, rule over the affairs of mankind, was an heathen and not a Jewish notion: neither Jews nor Christians were permitted to deal in astrology, though Tacitus seems to have been deep in it.

† This acknowledgment of the antiquity of Moses, and of his Jewish settlement, was what the heathen cared not always to own.

‡ What these pretended awkward and impure institutions were, Tacitus does not inform us.

tions, by which means the Jewish commonwealth was augmented. And because among themselves there is an unalterable fidelity and kindness always ready at hand, but bitter enmity towards all others *, they are a people separated from others in their food, and in their beds, though they be the lowliest nation upon earth †, yet will they not corrupt foreign women, though ‡ nothing be esteemed unlawful among themselves.

They have ordained circumcision of the part used in generation, that they may thereby be distinguished from other people: the || profelytes to their religion have the same usage.

They are taught nothing sooner than to despise the gods, to renounce their country, and to have their parents, children, and brethren, in the utmost contempt §; but still they take care to increase and multiply, for it is esteemed utterly unlawful to kill any of their children.

They also look on the souls of those that die in battle, or are put to death for their crimes, as eternal. Hence comes their love of posterity, and contempt of death.

They derive their * custom of burying, instead of burning their dead, from the Egyptians: they have also the same care of the dead with them, and the same persuasion about the invisible world below: But of the gods above, their opinion is contrary to theirs. The Egyptians worship abundance of animals, and images of various sorts.

The Jews have no notion of any more than one divine being †, and that known only by the mind. They esteem such

to

* Josephus shews the contrary, as to the laws of Moses, *contr.* Apion Book II. § 22. vol. VI.

† An high, and I doubt a false commendation of the Jews.

‡ An entirely false character, and contrary to their many laws against uncleanness. See Josephus *Antiq. B.* III. ch. xi. § 12.

|| The profelytes of justice only, not the profelytes of the gates.

§ How does this agree with that unalterable fidelity and kindness which Tacitus told us the Jews had towards one another? unless he only means that they preferred the divine commands before their nearest relations, which is the highest degree of Jewish and Christian piety.

* This custom is at least as old among the Hebrews as the days of Abraham, and the cave of Machpelah, long before the Israelites went into Egypt. *Gen.* xxiii. 1 — 20. xxv. 8, 9, 10.

† These are very valuable concessions, which Tacitus here makes as to the unspotted piety of the Jewish nation, in the worship of one infinite, invisible God, and absolute rejection of all idolatry, and of all worship of images, nay of the image of the Emperor Caius himself, or of affording it a place in their temple.

to be p
matter,
and et
Accord
in their
kings,
their p
wear i
found i
ped ou
the cer
Bacchu
and fit
furd an

CHA
by Ara
nicia a
on their
The
great l
The
fruitful
plenty
The
selves,
palms
large.
for fea

* All
only fro
finest pa
† Th
Jewish
but as th
chus, he
† See
vol. V.
it. It c
paign.

|| TH
the Wa
sent cop

to be profane who frame images of gods, out of perishable matter, and in the shape of men. That this being is supreme, and eternal, immutable, and unperishable, is their doctrine. Accordingly they have no images in their cities, much less in their temples; they never grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honour to emperors *. But because their priests, when they play on the pipe and the timbrels, wear ivy round their heads, and a golden † vine has been found in their temple, some have thought that they worshipped our father Bacchus, the conqueror of the East; whereas the ceremonies of the Jews do not at all agree with those of Bacchus, for he appointed rites that were of a jovial nature, and fit for festivals, while the practices of the Jews are absurd and fordid.

CHAP. VI.] The limits of Judea easterly are bounded by Arabia: Egypt lies on the south; on the west are Phœnicia and the [great] sea. They have a prospect of Syria on their north quarter, as at some distance from them †.

The bodies of the men are healthy, and such as will bear great labours.

They have not many showers of rain: their soil is very fruitful; the produce of their land is like ours, in great plenty ‖.

They have also besides ours, two trees peculiar to themselves, the balsam tree, and the palm tree. Their groves of palms are tall, and beautiful. The balsam tree is not very large. As soon as any branch is swelled, the veins quake as for fear, if you bring an iron knife to cut them. They are

e 2

to

* All these concessions were to be learned from Josephus, and almost only from him; out of whom therefore I conclude Tacitus took the finest part of his character of the Jews.

† This particular fact, that there was a golden vine in the front of the Jewish temple, was in all probability taken by Tacitus out of Josephus; but as the Jewish priests were never adorned with ivy, the signal of Bacchus, how Tacitus came to imagine this I cannot tell.

‡ See the chorography of Judea in Josephus, of the War, B. III. § 3. vol. V. whence most probably Tacitus framed this short abridgement of it. It comes in both authors naturally before Vespasian's first campaign.

‖ The latter branch of this Tacitus might have from Josephus, of the War, B. III. ch. iii. § 2. 3. 4. vol. V. the other is not in the present copies.

to be opened with the broken piece of a stone, or with the shell of a fish. The juice is useful in phyfic.

Libanus is their principal mountain, and is very high and yet, what is very strange to be related, it is always shadowed with trees, and never free from snow. The same mountain supplies the river Jordan with water, and affords it its fountains also. Nor is this Jordan carried into the sea, it passes through one and a second lake, undiminished, but it is stopped by the third *.

This third lake is vastly great in circumference, as if it were a sea †. It is of an ill taste, and is pernicious to the adjoining inhabitants, by its strong smell. The wind raises no waves there, nor will it maintain either fishes, or such birds as use the water. The reason is uncertain, but the fact is thus, that bodies cast into it are borne up, as by somewhat solid. Those who can, and those who cannot swim, are equally borne up by it ‡. At a certain time of the year it casts out bitumen; the manner of gathering it, like other arts, has been taught by experience. The liquor is of its own nature of a black colour; and, if you pour vinegar upon it, it clings together, and swims on the top. Those whose business it is, take it in their hands, and pull it into the upper parts of the ship, after which it follows, without farther attraction, and fills the ship full, till you cut it off: Nor can you cut it off either with a brass or an iron instrument; but it cannot bear the touch of blood, or of a cloth wet with the menstrual purgations of women, as the ancient authors say. But those that are acquainted with the place assure us, that these waves of bitumen are driven along, and by the hand drawn to the shore, and that when they are dried by the warm steams from the earth, and the force of the sun, they are cut in pieces with axes and wedges, as timber and stones are cut in pieces.

CHAP.

* These accounts of Jordan, of its fountains derived from Mount Libanus, and of the two lakes it runs through, and its stoppage by the third, are exactly agreeable to Josephus. Of the War, B. III. ch. x. § 7. 8. vol. V.

† No less than 580 furlongs long, and 150 broad, in Josephus, of the War, B. IV. ch. viii. § 4. vol. V.

‡ Strabo says, that a man could not sink into the water of this lake so deep as the navel.

|| Josephus never says that this bitumen was cast out at a certain time of the year only; and Strabo says the direct contrary, but Pliny agrees with Tacitus.

CHAP.

which are many * cities broke of destruction burnt earth argument cord, or a degree of become b As for m nous citi pose that and the f that by t grapes, r wholefom

The ri the sands nitre wit out smal s inexha

CHA

scattered capital temple c is the ci closed in ther tha threshol Assyrian all slave

* Thi from him cular to cities we and Tac land's op † A g sephus w

CHAP. VII.] Not far from this lake are those plains, which are related to have been of old fertile, and to have had many * cities full of people, but to have been burnt up by a stroke of lightning: it is also said, that the footsteps of that destruction still remain, and that the earth itself appears as burnt earth, and has lost its natural fertility; and that as an argument thereof, all the plants that grow of their own accord, or are planted by the hand, whether they arrive at the degree of an herb, or of a flower, or at complete maturity, become black, and empty, and, as it were, vanish into ashes. As for myself, as I am willing to allow that these once famous cities were burnt by fire from heaven, so would I suppose that the earth is infected with the vapour of the lake, and the spirit [or air] that is over it thereby corrupted, and that by this means the fruits of the earth, both corn, and grapes, rot away, both the soil and the air being equally unwholesome.

The river Belus does also run into the sea of Judea, and the sands that are collected about its mouth, when you mix nitre with them, are melted into glass: this sort of shore is but small, but its sand, for the use of those that carry it off, is inexhaustible.

CHAP. VIII.] A great part of Judea is composed of scattered villages: it also has larger towns: Jerusalem is the capital city of the whole nation. In that city there was a temple of immense wealth; in the first parts that are fortified is the city itself, next it the royal palace. The temple is inclosed in its most inward recesses. A Jew can come no farther than the gates; all but the priests are excluded by their threshold. While the East was under the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews were of all slaves the most despicable †.

e 3

After

* This is exactly according to Josephus, and must have been taken from him in the place forecited, and that particularly, because it is peculiar to him, so far as I know, in all antiquity. The rest thought the cities were in the very same place where now the lake is, but Josephus and Tacitus say they were in its neighbourhood only, which is Mr. Reland's opinion also.

† A great slander against the Jews, without any just foundation. Josephus would have informed him better.

* After the dominion of the Macedonians prevailed, King Antiochus tried to conquer their superstition, and to introduce the customs of the Greeks; but he was disappointed of his design, which was to give this most profligate nation a change for the better, and that was by his war with the Parthians, for at this time Arsaces had fallen off [from the Macedonians]. Then it was that the Jews set kings over them, because the Macedonians were become weak, the Parthians were not yet very powerful, and the Romans were very remote: Which kings, when they had been expelled by the mobility of the vulgar, and had recovered their dominion by war, attempted the same things that kings used to do, I mean they introduce the destruction of cities, the slaughter of brethren, of wives, and parents, but still went on in their superstition; for they took upon them withal the honourable dignity of the high priesthood, as a firm security to their power and authority.

CHAP. IX.] The first of the Romans that conquered the Jews was Cneius Pompeius, who entered the temple by right of victory. Thence the report was every where divulged, that therein was no image of a god, but an empty place, and mysteries, most secret places that have nothing in them. The walls of Jerusalem were then destroyed, but the temple continued still. Soon afterward arose a civil war among us; and when therein these provinces were reduced under Marcus Antonius, Pacorus, King of the Parthians, got possession of Judea, but was himself slain by Paulus Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven beyond Euphrates: And for the Jews, Caius Sosius subdued them. Antonius gave the kingdom to Herod; and when Augustus conquered Antonius he still augmented it.

After Herod's death, one *Simon*, without waiting for the disposition of Cesar, took upon him the title of *King*, who was brought to punishment by [or under] Quintilius Varus, when he was president of Syria. Afterward the nation was reduced, and the children of Herod governed it in three partitions.

Under Tiberius, the Jews had rest. After some time they were enjoined to place Caius Cesar's statue in the temple; but

* Here begins Josephus's and Tacitus's true accounts of the Jew's preliminary to the last war. See of the War, Proem. § 7. Vol. v.

but rather
stitution wa
Claudius
smaller don
knights, or
whom was
barbarity a
with the d
the grand-c
daughter's
Antonius.

BUT h
was I
and Pallas
Judea, an
ciness wit
ity.

The Je
even after
obeyed hi
some futu
ing up th
mean tim
up the co
partner in
being thu
cleans we
ix: Wh
out of co
red: the
ies of ro
and with
manus an
rejoice;
were sen

* They
but witho
sently, w
Josephus,
which we

But rather than permit that, they took up arms *; which sedition was put an end to by the death of Cæsar.

Claudius, after the kings were either dead, or reduced to smaller dominions, gave the province of Judea to Roman knights, or to freed men, to be governed by them. Among whom was Antonius Felix, one that exercised all kind of barbarity and extravagance, as if he had royal authority, but with the disposition of a slave. He had married Drusilla, the grand-daughter of Antonius, so that Felix was the grand-daughter's husband, and Claudius the grandson of the same Antonius.

ANNAL. BOOK XII.

BUT he that was the brother of Pallas, whose surname was Felix, did not act with the same moderation [as did Pallas himself]. He had been a good while ago set over Judea, and thought he might be guilty of all sorts of wickedness with impunity, while he relied on so sure an authority.

The Jews had almost given a specimen of sedition; and even after the death of Caius was known, and they had not obeyed his command, there remained a degree of fear, lest some future prince should renew that command, [for the setting up the prince's statue in their temple]. And in the mean time Felix, by the use of unseasonable remedies, blew up the coals of sedition into a flame, and was imitated by his partner in the government, Ventidius Cumanus, the country being thus divided between them, that the nation of the Galileans were under Cumanus, and the Samaritans under Felix: Which two nations were of old at variance, but now, out of contempt of their governors, did less restrain their hatred: they then began to plunder one another, to send in parties of robbers, to lie in wait, and sometimes to fight battles, and withal to bring spoils and prey to the procurators, [Cumanus and Felix]. Whereupon these procurators began to rejoice; yet when the mischief grew considerable, soldiers were sent to quiet them, but the soldiers were killed; and the

* They came to Petronius, the president of Syria, in vast numbers, but without arms, and as humble supplicants only. See Tacitus presently, where he afterwards sets this matter almost right, according to Josephus, and by way of correction, for that account is in his annals, which were written after this which is in his histories.

the province had been in the flame of war, had not Quadratus, the president of Syria, afforded his assistance. Nor was it long in dispute whether the Jews, who had killed the soldiers in the mutiny, should be put to death: It was agreed they should die; only Cumanus and Felix occasioned a delay, for Claudius, upon hearing the causes as to this rebellion, had given [Quadratus] authority to determine the case, even as to the procurators themselves: But Quadratus shewed Felix among the judges, and took him into his seat of judgment, on purpose that he might discourage his accusers. So Cumanus was condemned for those flagitious actions, of which both he and Felix had been guilty, and peace was restored to the province *.

HISTOR. BOOK V. CHAP. X.

HOWEVER the Jews had patience till Gessius Florus was made procurator. Under him it was that the war began. Then Cestus Gallus, the president of Syria, attempted to appease it, and tried several battles, but generally with ill success.

Upon his death †, whether it came by fate, or that he was weary of his life, is uncertain, Vespasian had the good fortune, by his reputation, and excellent officers, and a victorious army, in the space of two summers, to make himself master of all the open country, and of all the cities, Jerusalem excepted.

[Flavius Vespasianus, whom Nero had chosen for his general, managed the Jewish war with three legions. Histor. B. I. Chap. 10.]

The next year, which was employed in a civil war [at home], so far as the Jews were concerned, passed over in peace. When Italy was pacified, the care of foreign parts was revived. The Jews were the only people that stood out, which increased the rage [of the Romans]. It was also thought most proper that Titus should stay with the army, to prevent any accident or misfortune which the new government might be liable to.

Vespasian

* Here seems to be a great mistake about the Jewish affairs in Tacitus. See of the War, B. II. ch. xii. § 8. vol. V.

† Josephus says nothing of the death of Cestus; so Tacitus seems to have known nothing in particular about it.

[Vespasian of Jerusalem work had mountain, because the distresses [of] that Vespasian in war.

When him that what did triumphs, and Jews. Vespasian was ported

There both called for have temple, a ship. Vespasian when he whose name at the end whethert or augmented very large full answer were expected and very him, and

Mucianus on their area. A total of Judaea to the emperor made successful of fidelitater celeb

* Josephus's advantageable prediction
† This emperor in J

[Vespasian had put an end to the Jewish nation: the siege of Jerusalem was the only enterprize remaining, which was a work hard and difficult, but rather from the nature of the mountain, and the obstinacy of the Jewish superstition, than because the besieged had strength enough to undergo the distresses [of a siege]. We have already informed [the reader] that Vespasian had with him three legions, well exercised in war. Histor. Book II. Chap. 5.]

When Vespasian was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the highest pitch of fame: but what did first of all seem to confirm the omen, was his triumphs, and consulship, and the glory of his victories over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it was portended that he should come to the empire*.

There is between Judea and Syria a mountain and a god, both called by the same name of *Carmel*, though our predecessors have informed us that this god had no image, and no temple, and indeed no more than an altar and solemn worship. Vespasian was once offering a sacrifice there, at a time when he had some secret thought in his mind: The priest, whose name was *Basilides*, when he over and over looked at the entrails, said, Vespasian, whatever thou art about, whether the building of thy house, or enlargement of thy lands, or augmentation of thy slaves, thou art granted a mighty seat, very large bounds, an huge number of men. These doubtful answers were soon spread abroad by fame, and at this time were explained: Nor was any thing so much in public vogue, and very many discourses of that nature were made before him, and the more because they foretold what he expected.

Mucianus and Vespasianus went away, having fully agreed on their designs: the former to Antioch, the latter to Cæsarea. Antioch is the capital of Syria, and Cæsarea the capital of Judea. The commencement of Vespasian's advancement to the empire was at Alexandria, where Tiberius Alexander made such haste, that he obliged the legions to take the oath of fidelity to him on the kalends of July, which was ever after celebrated as the day of his inauguration, † although the
army

* Josephus takes notice in general of these many omens of Vespasian's advancement to the empire, and distinctly adds his own remarkable prediction of it also. Antiq. B. III. ch. viii. § 3. 9.

† This *although* seems to imply that Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor in Judea before he was so proclaimed at Alexandria, as the whole history

army in Judea had taken that oath on the fifth of the month of July, with that eagerness, that they would not stay for the son Titus, who was then on the road, returning out of Syria. chap. 79. Vespasian delivered over the strongest part of his forces to Titus, to enable him to finish what remained of the Jewish war. Hist. Book IV. chap. 51.

During those months in which Vespasian continued at Alexandria, waiting for the usual set time of the summer gales of wind, and stayed for settled fair weather at sea, many marvellous events happened, by which the good-will of heaven and a kind of inclination of the Deity in his favour was declared.

A certain man of the vulgar sort at Alexandria, well known for the decay of his eyes, kneeled down by him, and groaned, and begged of him the cure of his blindness, as by the admonition of Serapis, that god which this superstitious nation worships above others. He also desired that the Emperor would be pleased to put some of his spittle upon the balls of his eyes. Another infirm man there, who was lame of his hand, prayed Cæsar as by the same god's suggestion to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at first began to laugh at them, and to reject them, and when they were instant with him, he sometimes feared he should have the reputation of a vain person, and sometimes upon the solicitation of the infirm, he flattered himself, and others flattered him with the hopes of succeeding. At last he ordered the physicians to give their opinion, whether this sort of blindness and lameness were curable by the art of man or not? The physicians answered uncertainly, that the one had not his visual faculty utterly destroyed, and that it might be restored if the obstacles were removed: that the other's limbs were disordered, but if an healing virtue were made use of, they were capable of being made whole. Perhaps, said they, the gods are willing to assist, and that the Emperor is chosen by divine interposition: However, they said at last, that if the cures succeeded, Cæsar would have the glory, if not, the poor miserable objects would only be laughed at. Whereupon

history of Josephus implies, and the place where now Vespasian was, which was no other than Judea, requires also, though the inauguration day might be celebrated afterward from his first proclamation at the great city Alexandria, only then the nones or ides in Tacitus and Suetonius must be of June, and not of July.

Vespasian imagined, that his good fortune would be universal, and that nothing on that account could be incredible, he looked cheerfully, and in the sight of the multitude, stood in great expectation, he did what they desired: upon which the lame hand was recovered, and the blind man saw immediately. Both these * cures are related this day by those that were present, and when speaking they will get no reward.

BOOK V. CHAP. I.

AT the beginning of the same year, Titus Cæsar, who was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judea, and while both he and his father were private persons, celebrated for his martial conduct, acted now with great vigour and hopes of reputation, the kind inclinations both of the provinces and of the armies striving one with another should most encourage him. He was also himself in a disposition to shew that he was more than equal to his fortune; when he appeared in arms, he did all things after such a ready and graceful way, treating all after such an affable manner, and with such kind words, as invited the good-will and good-wishes of all. He appeared also in his actions and in his place in the troops; he mixed with the common soldiers, without any stain to his honour as a general †. He was received in Judea by three legions, the fifth, and the tenth, and the fifteenth, who were Vespasian's old soldiers. Syria also afforded him the twelfth, and Alexandria soldiers out of the

* The miraculous cures done by Vespasian are attested to both by Tacitus in Vespasian, § 7. and by Dio, p. 217. and seem to me well attested. Our Saviour seems to have over-ruled the heathen oracle of Apollo to procure the divine approbation to Vespasian's advancement to the empire of Rome, as he suggested the like approbation to the advancement both of Vespasian and Titus to Josephus, which two were to be his chosen instruments in bringing on that terrible destruction upon the Jewish nation, which he had threatened to execute by these Roman armies. Nor could any other Roman generals than Vespasian and Titus, at that time, in human probability, have prevailed over the Jews, and destroyed Jerusalem, as this whole history in Josephus implies. Josephus also every where supposes Vespasian and Titus raised up to command against Judea and Jerusalem, and to govern the Roman empire by divine providence, and not in the ordinary way: as also he always supposes this destruction a divine judgment on the Jews for their sins.

† This character of Titus agrees exactly with the history of Josephus on all occasions.

the twenty-second and twenty-third legions. Twenty * cohorts of auxiliaries accompanied, as also eight troops of horse.

King Agrippa also was there, and King Sohemus, and the auxiliaries of King Antiochus, and a strong body of Arabians, who, as is usual in nations that are neighbours to one another, went with their accustomed hatred against the Jews, with many others out of the city of Rome, as even one's hopes led him of getting early into the general's favour, before others should prevent them.

He entered into the borders of the enemies country with these forces, in exact order of war: and looking carefully about him, and being ready for battle, he pitched his camp not far from Jerusalem.

CHAP. X.] When therefore he had pitched his camp as we said just now, before the walls of Jerusalem, he pompously † shewed his legions ready for an engagement.

CHAP. XI.] The Jews formed their camp under the very ‡ walls [of the city]; and if they succeeded, they resolved to venture farther, but if they were beaten back, that was their place of refuge. When a body of || cavalry was sent against them, and with them cohorts, that were expert and nimble, the fight was doubtful; but soon afterwards the enemies gave ground, and on the following days there were frequent skirmishes before the gates, till after many losses they were driven into the city. The Romans then betook themselves to the siege, for it did not seem honourable to stay till the enemies were reduced by famine §. The soldiers were very eager to expose themselves to dangers, part of them

* These 20 cohorts, and 8 troops of horse, are not directly enumerated by Josephus, Antiq. B. V. ch. i. § 6.

† This word in Tacitus, *pompously shewed* his legions, looks as if that pompous shew which was some months afterward, in Josephus, in his mind, Antiq. B. V. ch. ix. § 1.

‡ These first bickerings and battles near the walls of Jerusalem, are at large in Josephus, Antiq. B. V. ch. ii.

|| Josephus distinctly mentions these horsemen or cavalry, 600 in number, among whom Titus had like to have been slain or taken prisoner, Antiq. B. V. ch. ii. § 1. 2. 3.

§ Such a deliberation and resolution, with this very reason, that it would be dishonourable to stay till the Jews were starved out by famine, is in Josephus, Antiq. B. V. ch. xii. § 1.

of true va
desire of r

Titus h
his eyes, a

Jerusalem co

The *

works and

ent for its

were two l

made croo

they migh

ways. T

towers, w

50 feet hi

were not b

beauty, an

they seem

l palace,

icularly c

f Marcus

CHAP

walls of it

on them t

was inclos

They h

the mount

ver † poc

er.

They th

f their co

ave frequ

provision f

their fear

hey shoul

VOL. I.

* This del

and four tow

h. iv. See a

† Of these

not mention

ee Reland's

† This is T

Josephus.

of true valour, many out of a brutish fierceness, and out of a desire of rewards.

Titus had Rome, and the riches and pleasures of it before his eyes, all which seemed to be too long delayed, unless Jerusalem could be soon destroyed.

The * city stood on an high elevation, and it had great works and ramparts to secure it, such indeed as were sufficient for its fortification, had it been on plain ground, for there were two hills, of a vast height, which were inclosed by walls made crooked by art, or [naturally] bending inwards, that they might flank the besiegers, and cast darts on them sideways. The extreme parts of the rock were craggy, and the towers, when they had the advantage of the ground, were 60 feet high: when they were built on the plain ground they were not built lower than 120 feet; they were of uncommon beauty, and to those who looked at them at a great distance, they seemed equal. Other walls there were beneath the royal palace, besides the tower of Antonia, with its top particularly conspicuous. It was called so by Herod, in honour of Marcus Antonius.

CHAP. XII.] The temple was like a citadel, having walls of its own, which had more labour and pains bestowed on them than the rest. The cloisters wherewith the temple was inclosed were an excellent fortification.

They had a fountain of water that ran perpetually; and the mountains were hollowed under ground: they had moreover † pools and cisterns for the preservation of the rain water.

They that built this city foresaw, that from the difference of their conduct of life from their neighbours they should have frequent wars; thence it came to pass, that they had provision for a long siege. After Pompey's conquest also their fear and experience had taught them generally what they should want ‡.

VOL. I.

f

Moreover

* This description of the city of Jerusalem, its two hills, its three walls, and four towers, &c. are in this place at large in Josephus, Antiq. B. V. ch. iv. See also Pompey's siege, B. XIV. ch. iv. § 2.

† Of these pools, see Josephus, B. V. ch. xi. § 4. The cisterns are not mentioned by him here, though they be mentioned by travellers. See Reland's Palestine, tom. I. p. 304.

‡ This is Tacitus's or the Romans own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus.

Moreover the covetous temper that prevailed under Claudius, gave the Jews an opportunity of purchasing for money * leave to fortify Jerusalem; so they built walls in time of peace, as if they were going to war, they being augmented in number by those rude multitudes of people that retired thither on the ruin of the other cities, for every obstinate fellow ran away thither, and there became more seditious than before.

There were three captains, and as many armies. Simon had the remotest and the largest parts of the walls under him: John, who was also called *Bar Gioras*, [the son of Gioras] had the middle parts of the city under him: and Eleazar had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon were superior in multitude and strength of arms, Eleazar was superior by his situation, but battles, factions, and burnings, were common to them all; and a great quantity of corn was consumed by fire. After a while John sent some, who under the pretence of offering sacrifice, might slay Eleazar, and his body of troops, which they did, and got the temple under their power. So the city now was parted into two factions until, upon the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between these that were at home.

CHAP. XIII.] Such † prodigies had happened as the nation, which is superstitious enough in its own way, would not agree to expiate by the ceremonies of the Roman religion, nor would they atone the Gods by sacrifices and vows as these used to do on the like occasions. Armies were seen to fight in the sky, and their armour looked of a bright light colour, and the temple shone with sudden flashes of fire out of the clouds. The doors of the temple were open

* This sale of leave for the Jews to build the walls of Jerusalem for money, is also Tacitus's or the Romans own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus. Nor is Josephus's character of Claudius near so bad, as other things also, as it is in Tacitus and Suetonius. Dio says, he was far from covetousness in particular. The others seem to have misrepresented his meek and quiet temper, and learning, but without ambition, and his great kindness to the Jews, as the most contemptible folly. See *Antiq. B. XIX. ch. iv. § 4.* He was indeed much ruled at first by a very bad minister, Pallas; and at last was ruled and poisoned by a very bad wife, Agrippina.

† These prodigies, and more, are at large in Josephus, *Antiq. B. V. ch. v. § 3.*

d on a
that the
great m
ome el
firm be
that at t
that cam
which o
generali
own incl
forebod
persuade
falsehood

We h
of every
hundred
carry th
number
men we
were to
than of

Again
by ramp
not adm
duty am
ments,
cities by
was got

NERO,
set
hated fo
Christian
this nam

* This
ch. v. § 4
† The
is there fo
§ 7. whic
Gallus, th
phus imp

ed on a sudden, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were retiring, and at the same time was there a great motion perceived, as if they were going out of it, which some esteemed to be causes of terror. The greater part had a firm belief that it was contained in the old sacerdotal books, that at this very time the east would prevail, and that some that came out of Judea should obtain the empire of the world, which obscure oracle foretold Vespasian and Titus; but the generality of the common people, as usual, indulged their own inclinations, and when they had once interpreted all to forebode grandeur to themselves, adversity itself could not persuade them to change their minds, though it were from falsehood to truth*.

We have been informed, that the number of the besieged, of every age, and of both sexes, male and female, was six hundred thousand†. There were weapons for all that could carry them, and more than could be expected, for their number were bold enough to do so. The men and the women were equally obstinate; and when they supposed they were to be carried captive, they were more afraid of life than of death.

Against this city and nation Titus Cæsar resolved to fight, by ramparts and ditches, since the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by storm or surprize. He parted the duty among the legions; and there were no farther engagements, until whatever had been invented for the taking of cities by the ancients, or by the ingenuity of the moderns, was got ready.

ANNALS Book. XV.

NERO, in order to stifle the rumour [as if he had himself set Rome on fire], ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar *Christians*: these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was *Christ*, who in the reign of Tiberius was

f 2

brought

* This interpretation and reflections are in Josephus, Antiq. B. VI. ch. v. § 4. vol. II.

† The number 600,000 for the besieged is no where in Josephus, but is there for the poor buried at the public charge, Antiq. B. V. ch. xiii. § 7. which might be about the number of the besieged, under Cestius Gallus, though they were many more afterward at Titus's siege, as Josephus implies, Antiq. B. VI. ch. ix. § 3.

brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator*. For the present this pernicious superstition was in part suppressed, but it brake out again, not only over Judea, whence this mischief first sprang, but in the city of Rome also, whither do run from every quarter and make a noise, all the flagrant and shameful enormities. At first, therefore, those were seized who confessed, afterward a vast multitude were detected by them, and were convicted, not so much as really guilty of setting the city on fire, but as hating all mankind: nay they made a mock of them as they perished, and destroyed them by putting them into the skins of wild beasts, and setting dogs upon them to tear them to pieces: Some were nailed to crosses, and others flamed to death: they were also used in the night-time instead of torches, for illumination. Nero had offered his own gardens for this spectacle. He also gave them Circensian games, and dressed himself like a driver of a chariot, sometimes appearing among the common people, sometimes in the circle itself; whence a commiseration arose, though the punishments were levelled at guilty persons, and such as deserved to be made the most flagrant examples, as if these people were destroyed, not for the public advantage, but to satisfy the barbarous humour of one man.

N. B. Since I have set down all the vile calumnies of Tacitus upon the Christians as well as the Jews, it will be proper, before I come to my observations, to set down two heathen records in their favour, and those hardly inferior in *antiquity*, and of much greater *authority* than Tacitus, I mean Pliny's epistles to Trajan when he was proconsul of Bithynia, with Trajan's answer or rescript to Pliny, cited by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerom. These are records of so great esteem with Havercamp, the last editor of Josephus, that he thinks they not only deserve to be *read*, but almost to be *learned by heart* also.

* This passage seems to have been directly taken from Josephus's famous testimony concerning Christ, and the Christians, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. iii. § 3. vol. IV. of which Dissert. I. before.

SIR, I
the
vern m
rance? I
Christian
with wh
they use
there be
accused]
punishm
pardon u
vantage
ken Chr
crimes b
punished
those wh
ed them.
fessed th
third tim
they per
cuted †;
any fort
deserved
fect who
that they
usual in s

• Till n
had been o
latry, yet v
perfection

† This v
that they
of any cri
tion in per

‡ Amaz
good conf
this by suc

|| This v
lowed to
xii. 25—2

PLINY'S EPISTLE to TRAJAN.

About A. D. 112.

SIR, It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts, for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding, or instruct my ignorance? I have never been present at the examination of the Christians [by others], on which account I am unacquainted with what uses to be inquired into, and what, and how far they use to be punished: Nor are my doubts small, whether there be not a distinction to be made between the ages [of the accused], and whether tender youth ought to have the same punishment with strong men? whether there be not room for pardon upon repentance *? or whether it may not be an advantage to one that had been a Christian, that he has forsaken Christianity? whether the bare name †, without any crimes besides, or the crimes adhering to that name, be to be punished? In the mean time, I have taken this course about those who have been brought before me as Christians. I asked them, whether they were Christians or not? If they confessed that they were Christians, I asked them again, and a third time, intermixing threatenings with the questions: If they persevered in their confession, I ordered them to be executed ‡; for I did not doubt but, let their confession be of any sort whatsoever, this positiveness and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. There have been some of this mad sect whom I took notice of in particular as Roman citizens, that they might be sent to that city ||. After some time, as is usual in such examinations, the crime spread itself, and many

f 3

more

* Till now it seems repentance was not commonly allowed those that had been once Christians, but though they recanted, and returned to idolatry, yet were they commonly put to death. This was persecution in perfection!

† This was the just and heavy complaint of the ancient Christians, that they commonly suffered for that bare name, without the pretence of any crimes they could prove against them. This was also persecution in perfection!

‡ Amazing doctrine! that a firm and fixed resolution of keeping a good conscience should be thought without dispute to deserve death, and this by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan.

|| This was the case of St. Paul, who being a citizen of Rome was allowed to appeal unto Cesar, and was sent to Rome accordingly, Acts xiii. 25—29. xxv. 25. xxvi. 32. xxvii.

more cases came before me. A libel was sent me, though without an author, containing many names [of persons accused.] These denied that they were Christians now, or ever had been. They called upon the gods, and supplicated to your * image, which I caused to be brought to me for that purpose, with frankincense and wine: they also † cursed Christ: None of which things, as it is said, can any of those that are really Christians be compelled to do; so I thought fit to let them go. Others of them that were named in the libel, said they were Christians, but presently denied it again, that indeed they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many more; and one there was that said, he had not been so these twenty years. All these worshipped your image, and the images of our gods: these also cursed Christ. However, they assured me, that the main of their fault, or of their mistake, was this, that they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing an hymn to Christ, as to a god, alternately; and to oblige themselves by a sacrament [or oath], not to do any thing that was ill, but that they would commit no theft, or pilfering, or adultery; that they would not break their promises, or deny what was deposited with them, when it was required back again: After which it was their custom to depart, and to meet again at a common but innocent ‡ meal, which yet they had left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden any such conventicles. These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire by torments, what the truth was, which I did of two servant maids, which were called *deaconesses*; but still I discovered no more, than that they were addicted to a bad, and to an extravagant superstition. Hereupon I have put off any farther examinations, and have recourse to you, for the affair seems to be well worth consultation, especially on account

* Amazing stupidity! that the Emperor's image, even while he was alive, should be allowed capable of divine worship, even by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan!

† Take here a parallel account out of the martyrdom of Polycarp, § 9. The proconsul said, "Reproach Christ." Polycarp replied, "Eighty and six years have I now served Christ, and he has never done me the least wrong, how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour!"

‡ This must most probably be the *feast of charity*.

ount of
re many
which are
and to be
igion, no
also, whi
corrected
aken, be
ities, w
The sacri
ew purc
suppose h
place for

My Plin
in c
as Christi
ing can b
be sought
are to be
ies himf
to by sup
merly, m
libels sent
any accus
ll exemp

* Some
merous in
were very
century, as

count of the * number of those that are in danger; for there are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, which are now and hereafter likely to be called to account, and to be in danger, for this superstition is spread like a contagion, not only in cities and towns, but into country villages also, which yet there is reason to hope may be stopped and corrected. To be sure the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin already to be frequented; and the holy solemnities, which were long intermitted, begin to be revived. The sacrifices begin to sell well every where, of which very few purchasers had of late appeared; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men may be amended, if place for repentance be admitted.

TRAJAN'S EPISTLE to PLINY.

MY Pliny, you have taken the method which you ought in examining the causes of those that had been accused as Christians, for indeed no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case. These people are not to be sought for; but if they be accused, and convicted, they are to be punished, but with this caution, that he who denies himself to be a Christian, and makes it plain that he is not so by supplicating to our gods, although he had been so formerly, may be allowed pardon, upon his repentance. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatsoever, for that would be a thing of very ill example; and not agreeable to my reign.

* Some of late are very loth to believe that the Christians were numerous in the second century, but this is such an evidence that they were very numerous at least in Bithynia, even in the beginning of that century, as is wholly undeniable.

OBSER.

OBSERVATIONS *upon the Passages taken out of*
TACITUS.

I. **W**E see here what great regard the best of the Roman historians of that age, Tacitus, had to the history of Josephus, while, though he never names him, as he very rarely names any of those Roman authors whence he derives other parts of his history, yet does it appear that he refers to his seven books of the Jewish Wars several times in a very few pages, and almost always depends on his accounts of the affairs of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during no fewer than 240 years, to which those books extend.

II. Yet does it appear that when he now and then followed other historians or reports concerning the Romans, the Parthians, or the Jews, during that long interval, he was commonly mistaken in them, and had better have kept close to Josephus than hearken to any of his other authors, or informers.

III. It also appears highly probable that Tacitus had seen the Antiquities of Josephus, and knew that the most part of the accounts he produced of the origin of the Jewish nation entirely contradicted those Antiquities. He also could hardly avoid seeing that those accounts contradicted one another also, and were childish, absurd, and supported by no good evidence whatsoever: as also he could hardly avoid seeing that Josephus's accounts in those Antiquities were authentic, substantial, and thoroughly attested to by the ancient records of that nation, and of the neighbouring nations also, which indeed no one can now avoid seeing, that carefully peruses and considers them.

IV. Tacitus therefore, in concealing the greatest part of the true ancient history of the Jewish nation, which lay before him in Josephus, and producing such fabulous, ill-grounded, and partial histories, which he had from the heathens, acted a most unfair part: and this procedure of his is here the more gross, in regard he professed such great impartiality, Hist. B. I. ch. i. and is allowed to have observed that impartiality in the Roman affairs also.

V. Tacitus's hatred and contempt of God's peculiar people, the Jews, and his attachment to the grossest idolatry, superstitious,

stitution,
strong in
equity
exactly
the Ro
VI. Since
d since
ostles a
e Christ
om Jude
e Jews
omans u
rd word
s, and l
e to est
ots upon
VII. S
Joseph
etermine
nce one
lished in
achus, a
is most
ery occa
om Jose
Antiquit
is equal
hus so th
hem. A
ooks, hi
een so th
riminal
suppose h
Apion, l
o have h
sh nation
igions,
owns we
plication
VIII.
standing
Tacitus,

stitution, and astral fatality of the Romans, were therefore strong in him, as to overbear all restraints of sober reason and equity in the case of those Jews, though he be allowed to have exactly to have followed them on other occasions relating to the Romans.

VI. Since therefore Tacitus was so bitter against the Jews, and since he knew that Christ was a Jew himself; and that his apostles and first followers were Jews; and also knew that the Christian religion was derived into the Roman provinces from Judea, it is no wonder that his hatred and contempt of the Jews extended itself to the Christians also, whom the Romans usually confounded with the Jews: as therefore his hard words of the Jews appear to have been generally groundless, and hurt his own reputation, instead of theirs, so ought he to esteem his alike hard words of the Christians to be spots upon his own character, and not upon theirs.

VII. Since therefore Tacitus, soon after the publication of Josephus's Antiquities, and in contradiction to them, was determined to produce such idle stories about the Jews, and since one of those idle stories is much the same with that published in Josephus against Apion, from Manetho and Lyfichachus, and no where else met with so fully in all antiquity, it is most probable that those Antiquities of Josephus were the very occasion of Tacitus giving us these stories, as we know from Josephus himself, *Contr. Apion*, B. I. § 1. that the same Antiquities were the very occasion of Apion's publication of his equally scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thoroughly confuted in his two books written against them. And if Tacitus, as I suppose, had also read these two books, his procedure in publishing such stories, after he had seen so thorough a confutation of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fault be much less, though we suppose he neither saw the Antiquities, nor the books against Apion, because it was so very easy for him, then at Rome, to have had more authentic accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, and of the nature of the Jewish and Christian religions, from the Jews and Christians themselves, which he owns were very numerous there in his days; so that his publication of such idle stories is still utterly inexcusable.

VIII. It is therefore very plain, after all, that notwithstanding the encomiums of several of our learned critics upon Tacitus, and hard suspicions upon Josephus, that all the (involuntary)

voluntary) mistakes of Josephus, in all his large works together, their *quality*, as well as *quantity*, considered, not amount to near so great a sum, as do these gross errors and misrepresentations of Tacitus's about the Jews amount in a few pages, so little reason have some of our later and lesser critics to prefer the Greek and Roman profane historians and writers to the Jewish, and particularly to Josephus. Some later and lesser critics should have learned more judgment and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger, when, as we have seen, after all his deeper inquiries, he solemnly pronounced, *De Emend. Temp. Prolegom.* p. 17. That "Josephus was the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers;" and is not afraid to affirm, That "it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than the Greek and Latin writers, and this because his fidelity and compass of learning are every where conspicuous."

TABLE

ABLE

Cubit,
Zereth
Small f
Palm o
Inch o
Digit o
Orgyia
Ezekie
Arabia
Schæm
Sabbat
Jewish
Stadiu
Parafa

Bath
Corus
Seah
Ditto
Hin,
Ditto
Ome
Cab,
Log,
Metr

TABLE of the JEWISH WEIGHTS and MEASURES, particularly
of those mentioned in JOSEPHUS'S WORKS.

Of the JEWISH Measures of LENGTH.

	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.
Cubit, the standard,	21	1	9
Zereth or large span,	10½	0	0
Small span,	7	0	0
Palin or hand's breadth,	3½	0	0
Inch or thumb's breadth,	1,16	0	0
Digit or finger's breadth,	,875	0	0
Orgyia or fathom,	84	7	0
Ezekiel's Canneh or reed,	126	10	6
Arabian Cannah or pole,	168	14	0
Schænus, line, or chain,	1680	140	0
Sabbath-day's journey,	42000	3500	0
Jewish mile,	84000	7000	0
Stadium or furlong,	8400	700	0
Parasang,	252000	21000	0

Of the Jewish Measures of CAPACITY.

	Cub. Inches.	Pints or Pounds.
Bath or Epha,	807,274	27,83
Corus or Chomer,	8072,74	278,3
Seah or Saton,	269,091	9,266
Ditto according to Josephus	828,28	28,3
Hin,	134,54	4,4633
Ditto according to Josephus	414,12	14,3
Omer or Affaron,	80,727	2,78
Cab,	44,859	1,544
Log,	11,21	,39
Metretes or Syrian firkin,	207	7,125

Of the Jewish WEIGHTS and COINS.

	L.	s.	d.
Stater, Siclus, or shekel of the sanctuary, the standard, - - -	0	2	6
Tyrian Coin, equal to the shekel, - - -	0	2	6
Bekah, half of the shekel, - - -	0	2	3
Drachma Attica, one-fourth, - - -	0	0	7½
Drachma Alexandrina, or Darchmon, or Adarchmon, one-half, - - -	0	1	3
Gerah, or Obolus, one-twentieth, - - -	0	0	1½
Maneh, or Mna—100 shekels in weight—21900 grains Troy.			
Maneh, Mna, or Mina, as a coin,—60 shekels,	7	10	0
Talent of silver,—3000 shekels, - - -	375	0	0
Drachma of gold not more than - - -	0	1	1
Shekel of gold not more than - - -	0	4	4
Daric of gold, - - -	1	0	4
Talent of gold not more than - - -	648	0	0

TABLE of the JEWISH MONTHS in *Josephus*, and others, with the names of the Syromacedonian names *Josephus* gives them, and of the Julian or Roman Months corresponding to them.

Hebrew Names.	Syromacedonian Names.	Roman Names.
(1) Nisan	Xanthicus	March and April
(2) Iyar	Artemisius	April and May
(3) Sivan	Dæsius	May and June
(4) Tamuz	Panemus	June and July
(5) Ab	Lous	July and August
(6) Elul	Gorpisæus	August and September
(7) Tisri	Hyperberetæus	September and October
(8) Marhesvan	Dius	October and November
(9) Casleu	Apellæus	November & December
(10) Tebeth	Audinæus	December and January
(11) Shebat	Peritius	January and February
(12) Adar	Dysurus	February and March
() Ve Adar, or		
The second Adar, intercalated.		

ANTI-

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

VOL. I.

S

§ 1. *

same a
very d
themse
in com
tion fo
histori
cerned
but rat
ance ;
are dri
in the
ting th
there a
facts o
benefit
the fac
Now c
fess th
myself
Roma
conclu
cause
in the

2. I
it will
it will
govern

* TI
thy the
of the v
† 11

P R E F A C E.

§ 1. * **T**HOSE who undertake to write histories, do not, I perceive, take that trouble on one and the same account, but for many reasons, and those such as are very different one from another : For some of them apply themselves to this part of learning to shew their great skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation for speaking finely ; others of them there are who write histories, in order to gratify those that happen to be concerned in them, and on that account have spared no pains, but rather gone beyond their own abilities in the performance ; but others there are, who of necessity, and by force, are driven to write history, because they were concerned in the facts, and so cannot excuse themselves from committing them to writing, for the advantage of posterity ; nay there are not a few who are induced to draw their historical facts out of darkness into light, and to produce them for the benefit of the public, on account of the great importance of the facts themselves with which they have been concerned. Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also : for since I was myself interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had, I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions in their writings.

2. Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the † Greeks worthy of their study ; for it will contain all our antiquities, and the constitution of our government, as interpreted out of the Hebrew scriptures.

g 2

And

* This preface of Josephus's is excellent in its kind, and highly worthy the repeated perusal of the reader, before he set about the perusal of the work itself.

† That is, all the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans.

And indeed I did formerly intend, when I * wrote of the War, to explain who the Jews originally were; what fortunes they had been subject to; and by what legislator they had been instructed in piety, and the exercise of other virtues; what wars also they had made in remote ages, till they were unwillingly engaged in this last with the Romans: But because this work would take up a great compass, I separated it into a set treatise by itself, with a beginning of its own and its own conclusion; but in process of time, as usually happens to such as undertake great things, I grew weary, and went on slowly, it being a large subject, and a difficult thing to translate our history into a foreign, and to us unaccustomed language. However, some persons there were who desired to know our history, and so exhorted me to go on with it; and above all the rest † Epaphroditus, a man who is a lover of all kind of learning, but is principally delighted with the knowledge of history, and this on account of his having been himself concerned in great affairs, and many turns of fortune, and having shewn a wonderful vigour of an excellent nature, and an immoveable virtuous resolution in them all. I yielded to this man's persuasions, who always excites such as have abilities in what is useful and acceptable, to join their endeavours with his. I was also ashamed myself to permit any laziness of disposition to have a greater influence upon me, than the delight of taking pains in such studies as were very useful; I thereupon stirred up myself, and went on with my work more cheerfully. Besides the foregoing motives, I had others which I greatly reflected on; and these were, that our forefathers were willing to communicate such things to others; and that some of the Greeks took considerable pains to know the affairs of our nation.

3. I found therefore that the second of the Ptolemies was a King who was extraordinary diligent in what concerned learning

* We may seasonably note here, that Josephus wrote his seven books of the Jewish War long before he wrote these his Antiquities. Those books of the War were published about *A. D.* 75, and these Antiquities *A. D.* 93 about eighteen years later.

† This Epaphroditus was certainly alive in the third year of Trajan, *A. D.* 100. See the note on Antiq. B. I. against Apion, § 1 vol. VI. Who he was we do not know; for as to Epaphroditus, the freed man of Nero, and afterwards Domitian's secretary, who was put to death by Domitian in the 14th or 15th year of his reign, he could not be alive in the third of Trajan.

* Josephus
with u

learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity among us, did not envy the fore-named King the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him, but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed ourselves from being communicated to others. Accordingly I thought it became me, both to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the King; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time; but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters, gave him only the books of the law, while there were a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They indeed contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will pursue this history, may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws; and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them * what was practicable before becomes impracticable; and whatsoever they set about as a good thing is converted into an incurable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God; and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever ascribed to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed, although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two thousand years ago: At which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records

* Josephus here plainly alludes to the famous Greek proverb, *If God be with us, every thing that is impossible becomes possible.*

records, in the order of time that belongs to them ; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking, and this without adding any thing to what is therein contained, or taking away any thing therefrom.

4. But because almost all our constitution depends on the wisdom of Moses, our legislator, I cannot avoid saying something concerning him before hand, though I shall do it briefly ; I mean, because otherwise those that read my books may wonder how it comes to pass, that my discourse, which promises an account of laws and historical facts, contains much of philosophy. The reader is therefore to know, that Moses deemed it exceeding necessary, that he who would conduct his own life well, and give laws to others, in the first place should consider the divine nature ; and upon the contemplation of God's operations, should thereby imitate the best of all patterns, so far as it is possible for human nature to do, and to endeavour to follow after it ; neither could the legislator himself have a right mind without such a contemplation ; nor would any thing he should write tend to the promotion of virtue in his readers ; I mean, unless they be taught first of all, that God is the Father and Lord of all things, and sees all things, and that thence he bestows an happy life upon those that follow him ; but plunges such as do not walk in the paths of virtue in inevitable miseries. Now when Moses was desirous to teach this lesson to his countrymen, he did not begin the establishment of his laws after the same manner that other legislators did ; I mean, upon contracts and other rights between one man and another, but by raising their minds upwards to regard God, and his creation of the world ; and by persuading them, that we men are the most excellent of the creatures of God upon earth. Now when once he had brought them to submit to religion, he easily persuaded them to submit in all other things : For as to other legislators, they followed fables, and by their discourses transferred the most reproachful of human vices upon to the gods, and so afforded wicked men the most plausible excuses for their crimes ; but as for our legislator, when he had once demonstrated that God was possessed of perfect virtue, he supposed that men also ought to strive after the participation of it ; and on those who did not so think, and so believe, he inflicted the severest punishments. I exhort therefore my readers to examine this whole undertaking in that view : for thereby it will appear to them, that there is no-
thing

thing therein disagreeable either to the majesty of God, or to his love to mankind; for all things have here a reference to the nature of the universe; while our legislator speaks some things wisely, but enigmatically, and others under a decent allegory, but still explains such things as required a direct explication plainly and expressly. However, those that have a mind to know the reasons of every thing may find here a very curious philosophical theory, which I now indeed shall wave the explication of, but if God afford me time for it,* I will set about writing it after I have finished the present work. I shall now betake myself to one history before me, after I have first mentioned what Moses says of the creation of the world, which I find described in the sacred books after the manner following

* As to this intended work of Josephus's concerning the reasons of any of the Jewish laws and what philosophical or allegorical sense they would bear, the loss of which work is by some of the learned not much regretted, I am inclinable, in part, to Fabricius's opinion *ap. Harcamp*, p. 63, 64. That "we need not doubt but; among some vain and frigid conjectures derived from Jewish imaginations, Josephus would have taught us a greater number of excellent and useful things, which perhaps no body, neither among the Jews, nor among the Christians, can now inform us of; so that I would give a great deal to find it still extant."

A N T I-

A

Con

[Fro

The Const

I. IN t
ea

ut was
pon its f
nd when
eparated
o one w
amed th
Evening
ay. Bu
m able t
ive such
ut off it
ond day
eparated
and by i
ound it,
earth, and
ording th
VOL. I

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

J E W S.

B O O K I.

Containing the Interval of 3833 Years.

[*From the CREATION to the Death of ISAAC.*]

C H A P. I.

The Constitution of the World, and the disposition of the Elements.

I. IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But when the earth did not come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light: and when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to one was *Night*, and the other he called *Day*: and he named the beginning of light, and the time of rest, the *Evening* and the *Morning*. And this was indeed the *first* day. But Moses said it was *one* day; the cause of which I am able to give even now, but because I have promised to give such reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its exposition till that time. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from the other parts, and he determined it should stand by itself. He also placed a cristalline [firmament] round it, and put it together in a manner agreeable to the earth, and fitted it for giving moisture and rain, and for affording the advantage of dews. On the third day he appointed

pointed the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day he made the plants and the seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, the moon, and the other stars, and appointed them their motions and courses, that the vicissitudes of the seasons might be clearly signified. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures, both those that swim, and those that fly; the former in the sea, the latter in the air: He also sorted them as to society, and mixture for procreation, and that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female: On the same day he also formed man. Accordingly Moses says, that in just six days the world and all that is therein was made. And that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labour of such operations; whence it is that we celebrate a *rest* from our labours on that day, and call it the *Sabbath*; which word denotes *Rest* in the Hebrew tongue.

2. Moreover Moses, after the seventh day was over*, begins to talk philosophically; and concerning the formation of man says thus, That God took dust from the ground, and formed † man, and inserted in him a spirit and a soul. This man was called Adam, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that is *red*, because he was formed out of *red earth* compounded together; for of that kind is virgin and true earth. God also presented the living creatures, when he had made them, according to their kinds, both male and female, to Adam, and gave them those names by which they are still called.

* Since Josephus in his Preface, § 4. says, That Moses wrote some things *enigmatically*, some *allegorically*, and the rest in *plain words*, since in his account of the first chapter of Genesis, and the three first verses of the second, he gives us no hints of any mystery at all; but when he here comes to ver. 4. &c. he says, that Moses, after the seventh day was over, began to talk *philosophically*, it is not very improbable that he understood the rest of the second and the third chapters in some *enigmatical*, or *allegorical*, or *philosophical* sense. The change of the name of God just at this place, from *Elohim* to *Yehovah Elohim*; from *God* to *Lord God*, in the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint, does also not a little favour some such change in the narration or construction.

† We may observe here, that Josephus supposed man to be compounded of spirit, soul, and body, with St. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 23. and the rest of the ancients: He elsewhere says also, That the blood of animals was forbidden to be eaten, as having in it soul and spirit, Antiq. B. III. chap. xi. § 2.

called.
anion,
he wond
male, he
out of i
when sh
was mac
Hebrew
which fi
3. Mo
East, flo
was the
was to
he had b
manded
was wat
earth, a
denotes
to the f
also, as
the nam
or a Flo
with na
notes w

4. G
should

* Wh
sephus, b
if four o
distances
is hard t
this Hist
significat
either a
narrow
mistake
especially
well kno
allegoric
mined.

† By
we now
Red Sea
and Hud

called. But when he saw that Adam had no female companion, no society, for there was no such created, and that he wondered at the other animals which were male and female, he laid him asleep, and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed the woman; whereupon Adam knew her when she was brought to him, and acknowledged that she was made out of himself. Now a woman is called in the Hebrew tongue *Issa*; but the name of this woman was *Eve*, which signifies the *Mother of all living*.

3. Moses says farther, that God planted a paradise in the East, flourishing with all sorts of trees; and that among them was the *Tree of Life*, and another of *Knowledge*, whereby was to be known what was *Good and Evil*: And that when he had brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by * one river, which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phison, which denotes a *Multitude*, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and is by the Greeks called *Ganges*. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes down into the † Red Sea. Now the name Euphrates, or Phrath, denotes either a *Dispersion*, or a *Flower*: by Tigris or Diglath, is signified *what is swift, with narrowness*: and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes *what arises from the East*, which the Greeks call *Nile*.

4. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from

A 2

the

* Whence this strange notion came, which yet is not peculiar to Josephus, but, as Dr. Hudson says here, is derived from elder authors, as if four of the greatest rivers in the world, running two of them at vast distances from the other two, by some means or other watered Paradise, is hard to say. Only since Josephus has already appeared to *allegorise* this History, and takes notice that these four names had a particular signification; Phison for Ganges, a *Multitude*; Phrath for Euphrates, either a *Dispersion* or a *Flower*; Diglath for Tigris, *what is swift, with narrowness*; and Geon for Nile, *what arises from the East*, we perhaps mistake him when we suppose he literally means those four rivers; especially as to Geon or Nile, *which arises from the East*, while he very well knew the literal Nile *arises from the South*; though what farther allegorical sense he had in view, is now, I fear, impossible to be determined.

† By the Red Sea is not here meant the Arabian Gulph, which alone we now call by that name, but all that South Sea, which included the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulph, as far as the East Indies; as Reland and Hudson here truly note, from the old geographers.

the *Tree of Knowledge*; and foretold to them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But while all the living creatures had * one language at that time, the Serpent, which then lived together with Adam and his wife, shewed an envious disposition, at his supposal of their living happily, and in obedience to the commands of God; and imagining, that when they disobeyed them, they would fall into calamities, he persuaded the woman, out of a malicious intention, to taste of the *Tree of Knowledge*, telling them, that in that tree was the *Knowledge of Good and Evil*; which knowledge, when they should obtain, they would lead an happy life, nay a life not inferior to that of a god: By which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. Now when she had tasted of that tree, and was pleased with its fruit, she persuaded Adam to make use of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were become naked to one another; and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they invented somewhat to cover them; for the tree sharpened their understanding; and they covered themselves with fig-leaves; and tying these before them, out of modesty, they thought they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam, who was wont before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wicked behaviour, went out of the way. This behaviour surprised God; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure? And why he that before delighted in that conversation, did now fly from it, and avoid it? When he made

no

* Hence it appears, that Josephus thought several, at least, of the brute animals, particularly the Serpent, could speak before the Fall. And I think few of the more perfect kinds of those animals want the organs of speech at this day. Many inducements there are also to a notion, that the present state they are in is not their original state; and that their capacities have been once much greater than we now see them, and are capable of being restored to their former condition. But as to this most ancient, and authentic, and probably allegorical account of that grand affair of the fall of our first parents, I have somewhat more to say in way of conjecture, but being only a conjecture, I omit it: Only thus far, that the imputation of the sin of our first parents to their posterity, any farther than as some way the cause or occasion of man's mortality, seems almost entirely groundless; and that both man, and the other subordinate creatures, are hereafter to be delivered from the curse then brought upon them, and at last to be delivered from that bondage of corruption, Rom. viii. 19--22.

no reply, as conscious to himself that he had transgressed the command of God, God said, "I had before determined about you both, how you might lead an happy life, without any affliction, and care, and vexation of soul; and that all things which might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence, of their own accord, without your own labour and pains-taking; which state of labour and pains-taking would soon bring on old age, and death would not be at any remote distance: But now thou hast abused this my good will, and hast disobeyed my commands; for thy silence is not the sign of thy virtue, but of thy evil conscience." However, Adam excused his sin, and intreated God not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife; and said, that he was deceived by her, and thence became an offender; while she again accused the Serpent. But God allotted him punishment, because he weakly submitted to the counsel of his wife; and said, the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that when it should be harassed by their labour, it should bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also made Eve liable to the inconvenience of breeding, and the sharp pains of bringing forth children, and this because she persuaded Adam with the same arguments wherewith the Serpent had persuaded her, and had thereby brought him into a calamitous condition. He also deprived the Serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malicious disposition towards Adam. Besides this, he inserted poison under his tongue, and made him an enemy to men: and suggested to them that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and it being easiest to take vengeance on him that way: And when he had deprived him of the use of his feet, he made him to go rolling all along, and dragging himself upon the ground. And when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Posterity of Adam, and the ten generations from him to the Deluge.

§ 1. ADAM and Eve had two sons; the elder of them was named *Cain*, which name, when it is interpreted, signifies a *Possession*. The younger was *Abel*, which signifies:

Sorrow. They had also daughters. Now the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life; for Abel, the younger, was a lover of righteousness, and believing that God was present at all his actions, he excelled in virtue; and his employment was that of a shepherd. But Cain was not only very wicked in other respects, but was wholly intent upon getting; and he first contrived to plough the ground. He slew his brother on the occasion following: They had resolved to sacrifice to God. Now Cain brought the fruits of the earth, and of his husbandry; but Abel brought milk, and the first fruits of his flocks: but * God was more delighted with the latter oblation, when he was honoured with what grew naturally of its own accord, than he was with what was the invention of a covetous man, and gotten by forcing the ground; whence it was that Cain was very angry that Abel was preferred by God before him, and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him, What was become of his brother? because he had not seen him of many days, whereas he used to observe them conversing together at other times. But Cain was in doubt with himself, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said, that he was himself at a loss about his brother's disappearing; but when he was provoked by God, who pressed him vehemently, as resolving to know what the matter was, he replied, He was not his brother's guardian or keeper, nor was he an observer of what he did. But in return God convicted Cain, as having been the murderer of his brother; and said, "I wonder at thee, that thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God therefore did not inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making supplication to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him, but he made him accursed, and threatened his posterity in the seventh generation. He also cast him, together with his wife, out of that land. And when he was afraid, that in wandering about

* St. John's account of the reason why God accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and rejected that of Cain; as also why Cain slew Abel, on account of that his acceptance with God, is much better than this of Josephus: I mean, because Cain was of the evil one, and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous, 1 Joh. iii. 12. Josephus's reason seems to be no better than a Pharisaical notion or tradition.

at he sh
rith, G
picion,
chief
ark upo
m to de
2. And
ith his v
alled, an
hildren.
rder to
nly aime
y pleasur
neighbour
much we
quaintanc
ame a g
roduced
before;
whereas
knew no
ning cral
built a c
family to
after the
son of E
thusela;
dren by
one was
herd. B
exercise
harp. I
ceeded
in mart
sures of
the art
daught
skilful
to be p

* Fro
Jobel, c
proclaim

that he should fall among wild beasts, and by that means
 with, God bid him not to entertain such a melancholy
 suspicion, and to go over all the earth without fear of what
 mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and setting a
 mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded
 him to depart.

2. And when Cain had travelled over many countries, he,
 with his wife, built a city, named *Nod*, which is a place so
 called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had
 children. However, he did not accept of his punishment in
 order to amendment, but to increase his wickedness, for he
 only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily
 pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his
 neighbours. He augmented his household substance with
 much wealth, by rapine and violence; he excited his ac-
 quaintance to procure pleasure and spoils by robbery, and be-
 came a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also in-
 troduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived
 before; and was the author of measures and weights: And
 whereas they lived innocently and generously while they
 knew nothing of such arts, he changed the world into cun-
 ning craftiness. He first of all set boundaries about lands: he
 built a city, and fortified it with walls, and he compelled his
 family to come together to it; and called that city *Enoch*,
 after the name of his eldest son Enoch. Now Jared was the
 son of Enoch; whose son was Malaliel; whose son was Ma-
 thusela; whose son was Lamech: who had seventy-seven chil-
 dren by two wives, Silla and Ada. Of those children by Ada,
 one was Jubal: he erected tents, and loved the life of a shep-
 herd. But Jubal, who was born of the same mother with him,
 exercised himself in * music; and invented the psaltery and
 harp. But Tubal, one of his children by the other wife, ex-
 ceeded all men in strength, and was very expert and famous
 in martial performances. He procured what tended to plea-
 sures of the body by that method; and first of all invented
 the art of making brass. Lamech was also the father of a
 daughter, whose name was Naamah: And because he was so
 skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was
 to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made that
 known

* From this Jubal, not improbably, came *Jobel*, the trumpet of
Jobel, or *Jubilee*, that large and loud and musical instrument, used in
 proclaiming the liberty at the Year of Jubilee.

known to his wives. Nay even while Adam was alive came to pass, that the posterity of Cain became exceedingly wicked, every one successively dying one after another more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and vehement in robberies; and if any one were slow to murder people, yet was he bold in his profligate behaviour, in acting unjustly, and doing injuries for gain.

3. Now Adam, who was the first man, and made out of the earth (for our discourse must now be about him), after Abel was slain, and Cain fled away, on account of his murder, was solicitous for posterity, and had a vehement desire of children, he being two hundred and thirty years old; after which time he lived other seven hundred, and then died. He had indeed * many other children, but Seth in particular. As for the rest it would be tedious to name them; I will therefore only endeavour to give an account of those that proceeded from Seth. Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, he became a virtuous man; and as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave † children behind him who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good dispositions. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in an happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them, till they died. They also were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom, which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order. And that their inventions might not be lost before they were sufficiently known, upon Adam's prediction that the world was to be destroyed at one time by the force of *fire*, and at another time by the violence and quantity of *water*, they made ‡ two pillars; the

one

* The number of Adam's children, as says the old tradition, was thirty-three sons, and twenty-three daughters.

† What is here said of Seth and his posterity, that they were very good and virtuous, and at the same time very happy, without any considerable misfortunes, for seven generations, [see ch. ii. § 1. before, and ch. iii. § 1. hereafter] is exactly agreeable to the state of the world, and the conduct of providence, in all the first ages.

‡ Of Josephus's mistake here, when he took Seth the son of Adam, for Seth or Sesostris, King of Egypt, the erecter of these pillars in the land of Siriad, see Essay on the Old Testament, Appendix, p. 159, 160. Although the main of this relation might be true; and Adam might foretel a *Conflagration* and a *Deluge*, which all antiquity witnesses to be an ancient tradition; nay Seth's posterity might engrave their inventions

of bri
eries o
destro
d exhib
em that
ow this

Concerning
saved i
in the p

I. NO

ntire reg
f time t
their fore
which we
ustice to
formerly
double
be their
with wor
pifers o
they ha
these me
Grecian
they did
them to
better:
to their
him, to
had mar

2. No
not only

in astron
could fur
far under
pillars of
the land
in the pl
* Th
thers of

one of brick, the other of stone: they inscribed their discoveries on them both, that in case the pillar of brick should be destroyed by the flood, the pillar of stone might remain, and exhibit those discoveries to mankind; and also inform them that there was another pillar of brick erected by them. Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Flood; and after what manner Noah was saved in the Ark, with his kindred, and afterwards dwelt in the plain of Shinar.

1. NOW this posterity of Seth continued to esteem God as the Lord of the universe, and to have an entire regard to virtue, for seven generations; but in process of time they were perverted, and forsook the practices of their forefathers, and did neither pay those honours to God which were appointed them, nor had they any concern to do justice towards men, but for what degree of zeal they had formerly shewn for virtue, they now shewed by their actions a double degree of wickedness; whereby they made God to be their enemy. For many * Angels of God accompanied with women, and begat sons that proved unjust, and despisers of all that was good, on account of the confidence they had in their own strength; for the tradition is, that these men did what resembled the acts of those whom the Grecians call *Giants*. But Noah was very uneasy at what they did; and being displeased at their conduct, persuaded them to change their dispositions, and their acts, for the better: But seeing they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and those they had married; so he departed out of that land.

2. Now God loved this man for his righteousness: Yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but

in astronomy on two such pillars, yet it is no way credible that they could survive the deluge, which has buried all such pillars and edifices far under ground, in the sediment of its waters, especially since the like pillars of the Egyptian Seth or Sesostris were extant, after the flood, in the land of Siriad, and perhaps in the days of Josephus also, as is shewn in the place here referred to.

* This notion, that the fallen angels were, in some sense the fathers of the old Giants, was the constant opinion of antiquity.

but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure from wickedness, and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but * one hundred and twenty only; he turned the dry land into sea; and thus were all these men destroyed: But Noah alone was saved; for God suggested to him the following contrivance and way of escape; that he should make an Ark of four stories high, three hundred + cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high. Accordingly he entered into that Ark, and his wife, and sons, and their wives; and put into it not only other provisions, to support their wants there, but also sent in with the rest all sorts of living creatures, the male and his female, for the preservation of their kinds; and others of them by sevens. Now this Ark had firm walls, and a roof, and was braced with cross beams, so that it could not be any way drowned, or overborn by the violence of the water. And thus was Noah, with his family, preserved. Now he was the tenth from Adam, as being the son of Lamech, whose father was Mathufala: he was the son of Enoch, the son of Jared; and Jared was the son of Mahaleel, who, with many of his sisters, were the children of Cain, the son of Enos. Now Enos was the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

3. This calamity happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's government, [Age] in the † second month, called by the

* Josephus here supposes, that the life of these Giants, for of them only do I understand him, was now reduced to 120 years; which is confirmed by the fragment of Enoch, § 10. in Authent. Rec. part I. p. 268. For as to the rest of mankind, Josephus himself confesses their lives were much longer than 120 years, for many generations after the flood, as we shall see presently; and he says they were gradually shortened till the days of Moses, and then fixed [for some time] at 120, ch. vi. § 5. Nor indeed need we suppose, that either Enoch or Josephus meant to interpret these 120 years for the life of men before the flood, to be different from the 120 years of God's patience [perhaps while the Ark was preparing] till the deluge; which I take to be the meaning of God when he threatened this wicked world, that if they so long continued impenitent, *their days should be no more than 120 years.*

† A cubit is about 21 English inches.

‡ Josephus here truly determines, that the year at the flood began about the Autumnal Equinox; as to what day of the month the flood began, our Hebrew and Samaritan, and perhaps Josephus's own copy, more rightly placed it on the 17th day instead of the 27th, as here; for Josephus agrees with them as to the distance of 150 days to the 17th day of the seventh month, as Gen. vii. ult. with viii. 3.

the Macedonians so did
anted the
the first
them out
on the ye
honour of
of the mo
airs. N
seventh [f
this was t
ve hundr
and the ti
who the
both the
4. For
two hund
thirty ye
fifth yea
twelve y
whom he
nine hund
nine hund
born in h
ving live
son Jared
sixty-fift
and then
his father
ne, whe
departed
not writ
Enoch,
sixty-fiv
one hund

* Jose
first set
mitted d
that ma
taught t
perhaps
Creator
days ap

the Macedonians *Dius*, but by the Hebrews *Marhesuen*; so did they order their year in Egypt. But Moses appointed that *Nisan*, which is the same with *Xanthicus*, should be the first month, for their festivals, because he brought them out of Egypt in that month: So that this month began the year, as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying, and other ordinary affairs. Now he says, that this flood began on the twenty-seventh [seventeenth] day of the forementioned month; and this was two thousand six hundred and fifty-six [one thousand five hundred and fifty-six years] from Adam the first man; and the time is written down in our sacred books, those who then lived having noted down, with great accuracy, both the births and deaths of illustrious men.

4. For indeed Seth was born when Adam was in his two hundred and thirtieth year, who lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth begat Enoch in his two hundred and fifth year; who, when he had lived nine hundred and twelve years, delivered the government to Cain his son, whom he had at his hundred and ninetieth year. He lived nine hundred and five years. Cainan, when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, had his son Malaleel, who was born in his hundred and seventieth year. This Malaleel having lived five hundred and ninety-five years, died, leaving his son Jared, whom he begat when he was at his hundred and sixty-fifth year. He lived nine hundred and sixty-two years; and then his son Enoch succeeded him, who was born when his father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Now he, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed, and went to God; whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Mathusala, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son, when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; to whom he delivered

* Josephus here takes notice, that these ancient genealogies were first set down by those that then lived, and from them were transmitted down to posterity; which I suppose to be the true account of that matter: For there is no reason to imagine that men were not taught to *read* and *write* soon after they were taught to *speak*; and perhaps all by the Messiah himself, who, under the Father, was the Creator or Governor of mankind, and who frequently in those early days appeared to them.

livered the government when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamech, when he had governed seven hundred and seventy-seven years, appointed Noah his son to be ruler of the people, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and retained the government nine hundred and fifty years. These years collected together make up the sum before set down. But let no one inquire into the deaths of these men; for they extended their lives along together with their children and grandchildren, but let him have regard to their births only.

5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty entire days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth; which was the reason why there were no greater number preserved, since they had no place to fly to. When the rain ceased, the water did but just begin to abate after one hundred and fifty days, that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, it then ceasing to subside for a little while. After this the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia; which, when Noah understood, he opened it, and seeing a small piece of land about it, he continued quiet, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance. But a few days afterward, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the Ark with safety; but the raven returned not. And after seven days he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground, which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch: Hereby Noah learned, that the earth was become clear of the flood. So after he had stayed seven more days, he sent the living creatures out of the Ark; and both he and his family went out, when he also sacrificed to God, and feasted with his companions. However, the Armenians call this place * *Αρωκλίσιον*. *The place of descent*; for the Ark being saved in that place, its remains are shewed there by the inhabitants to this day.

6. Now

* This *Αρωκλίσιον*, or *place of descent*, is the proper rendering of the Armenian name of this very city. It is called in Ptolemy *Naxmina*, and by Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian history, *Idisbeuan*; but at the place itself, *Nachidisbeuan*, which signifies *the first place of descent*; and is a lasting monument of the preservation of Noah in the Ark, upon the top of that mountain, at whose foot it was built, as the

first

6. No
tion of th
the Chal
ees of th
some p
" Cordy
" bitum
" lets, f
gyptian
Mnaseas
Nay, N
a partic
" There
" Baris
" the ti
" carri
" that t
" ed:
" gillat

7. B
mined
every y
that na
and tha
by whi
destruc
would
had hi
lamity
than t
condit
entire
while
the fir
also in
Vor

first ci
and M
other t
place
sons fr
prefer
Monf
but m

6. Now all the writers of Barbarian histories make mention of this flood, and of this Ark; among whom is Berosus the Chaldean. For when he was describing the circumstances of the flood, he goes on thus: "It is said there is still some part of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordyæans; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chiefly as amulets, for the averting of mischiefs." Hieronymus the Egyptian also, who wrote the Phenician Antiquities, and Mnaseas, and a great many more, make mention of the same. Nay, Nicolaus of Damascus, in his ninety-sixth book, hath a particular relation about them; where he speaks thus: "There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas, called *Baris*, upon which it is reported, that many who fled at the time of the deluge were saved; and that one who was carried in an ark, came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved: This might be the man about whom Moses the legislator of the Jews wrote."

7. But as for Noah, he was afraid, since God had determined to destroy mankind, lest he should drown the earth every year; so he offered burnt offerings, and besought God that nature might hereafter go on in its former orderly course, and that he would not bring on so great a judgment any more, by which the whole race of creatures might be in danger of destruction; but that, having now punished the wicked, he would of his goodness spare the remainder, and such as he had hitherto judged fit to be delivered from so severe a calamity, for that otherwise these last must be more miserable than the first, and that they must be condemned to a worse condition than the others, unless they be suffered to escape entirely; that is, if they be reserved for another deluge, while they must be afflicted with the terror and the sight of the first deluge, and must also be destroyed by a second. He also intreated God to accept of his sacrifice, and to grant,

VOL. I.

B

that

first city or town after the flood. See Antiq. B. XX. ch. ii. § 3. vol. IV. and Moses Chorenensis, pag. 71, 72. Who also says, pag. 19. that another town was related by tradition to have been called *Seron*, or the *place of dispersion*, on account of the dispersion of Xisuthrus's or Noah's sons from thence first made. Whether any remains of this Ark be still preserved, as the people of the country suppose, I cannot certainly tell. Monf. Turnfort had not very long since a mind to see the place himself, but met with too great dangers and difficulties to venture through them.

that the earth might never again undergo the like effects of his wrath; that men might be permitted to go on cheerfully in cultivating the same; to build cities, and live happily in them; and that they might not be deprived of any of those good things which they enjoyed before the flood; but might attain to the like length of days, and old age, which the ancient people had arrived at before.

8. When Noah had made these supplications, God, who loved the man for his righteousness, granted entire success to his prayers; and said, That it was not he who brought the destruction on a polluted world, but that they underwent that vengeance on account of their own wickedness; and that he had not brought men into the world, if he had himself determined to destroy them, it being an instance of greater wisdom not to have granted them life at all, than, after it was granted, to procure their destruction: but the injuries, said he, they offered to my holiness and virtue, forced me to bring this punishment upon them. But I will leave off for the time to come to require such punishments, the effects of so great wrath, for their future wicked actions, and especially on account of thy prayers. But if I shall at any time send tempests of rain, in an extraordinary manner, be not affrighted at the largeness of the showers, for the water shall no more overspread the earth. However, I require you to abstain from shedding the blood of men, and to keep yourselves pure from murder; and to punish those that commit any such thing. I permit you to make use of all the other living creatures at your pleasure, and as your appetites lead you; for I have made you lords of them all, both of those that walk on the land, and those that swim in the waters, and of those that fly in the regions of the air on high, excepting their blood, for therein is the life. But I will give you a sign that I have left off my anger, by my *bow*, (whereby is meant the rainbow, for they determined that the *rainbow* was the *bow* of God). And when God had said and promised thus, he went away.

9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and that all that time happily, he died, having lived the number of nine hundred and fifty years. But let no one upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think, that what we have said of them is false; or make the shortness of our

our live
to so lo
of Go
their fo
well liv
forded
and the
trical d
for fore
ed fix
that in
all tho
Greeks
Egypti
monun
Hieron
Phenic
and H
these,
a thou
look up

luge.
the pla
others
count
the hi
the pl
also c
rough
tions
the ea
they
which
ble b
when

our lives at present an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for those ancients were beloved of God, and [lately] made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, might well live so great a number of years: And besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue. and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time for foretelling [the periods of the stars], unless they had lived six hundred years; for the Great Year is completed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written Antiquities, both among the Greeks and Barbarians: For even Manetho who wrote the Egyptian history, and Berofus, who collected the Chaldean monuments, and Mochus, and Hestizæus, and besides these, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those that composed the Phenician history, agree to what I here say: Hesiod also, and Hecatæus, and Hellanicus, and Acusilaus; and, besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate, that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as they think fit.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Tower of Babylon, and the confusion of Tongues.

§ 1. NOW the sons of Noah were three, Shem, and Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the deluge. These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loth to come down from the higher places, to venture to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt was called *Shinar*. God also commanded them to send colonies abroad, for the thorough-peopling of the earth, that they might not raise seditions among themselves, but might cultivate a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after a plentiful manner. But they were so ill instructed that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into calamities, and were made sensible by experience, of what sin they had been guilty: For when they flourished with a numerous youth, God admonish-

ed them again to send out colonies ; but they imagining that the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favour of God, but supposing that their own power was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay they added to this their disobedience to the divine will, the suspicion that they were therefore ordered to send out separate colonies, that being divided asunder, they might the more easily be oppressed.

2. Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. He was the grandson of Ham, the son of Noah, a bold man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through his means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence upon his power. He also said, " He would be revenged on God, if he should have a mind to drown the world again; for that he would build a tower too high for the waters to be able to reach; and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers."

3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent about the work. And, by reason of the multitude of hands employed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that thereby its great height seemed, upon the view, to be less than it really was. It was built of burnt brick, cemented together with mortar, made of *bitumen*, that it might not be liable to admit water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners, but he caused a tumult among them, by producing in them diverse languages, and causing, that through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower, is now called *Babylon*, because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before; for the Hebrews mean by the word *Babel*, *Confusion*. The Sibyl also makes men-

tion

tion of the
when she
" some of
" by asce
" and ove
" langua
" led Ba
" ry of Ba
" Such c
" of Jup

After w

§ 1. A

where ;
they lig
whole
the ma
over th
of thof
given t
also, a
that th
And t
mutati
claime
to the
be be
able f
ple do

How

§ 1.

those
had

tion of this tower, and of the confusion of the language, when she says thus: "When all men were of one language, some of them built an high tower, as if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods sent storms of wind and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason it was that the city was called *Babylon*." But as to the plain of Shinar, in the country of Babylonia, Hestius mentions it, when he says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved, took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Enyalios, and came to Shinar of Babylonia."

CHAP. V.

After what manner the posterity of Noah sent out Colonies, and inhabited the whole earth.

§ 1. AFTER this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their languages, and went out by colonies every where; and each colony took possession of that land which they light upon, and unto which God led them, so that the whole continent was filled with them, both the inland and the maritime countries. There were some also who passed over the sea in ships, and inhabited the islands: And some of those nations do still retain the denominations which were given them by their first founders; but some have lost them also, and some have only admitted certain changes in them, that they might be the more intelligible to the inhabitants. And they were the Greeks who became the authors of such mutations: For when in after ages they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory of antiquity; giving names to the nations that sounded well [in Greek], that they might be better understood among themselves; and setting agreeable forms of government over them, as if they were a people derived from themselves.

CHAP. VI.

How every nation was denominated from their first inhabitants

§ 1. NOW they were the grand-children of Noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon him. Japhet, the son of Noah, had seven sons: They inhabited so, that beginning at the

mountains Taurus and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia as far as the river Tanais, and along Europe to Cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands they light upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names. For Gomer founded those whom the Greeks now call *Galatians*, [Galls] but were then called *Gomerites*. Magog founded those that from him were named *Magogites*, but who are by the Greeks called *Scythians*. Now as to Javan and Madai, the sons of Japhet; from Madai came the Madeans, which are called *Medes* by the Greeks; but from Javan, Jonia, and all the Grecians, are derived. Thobel founded the Thobelites, which are now called *Iberes*; and the Mosocheni were founded by Mosoch; now they are Cappadocians. There is also a mark of their ancient denomination still to be shewed; for there is even now among them a city called Mazaca, which may inform those that are able to understand, that so was the entire nation once called. Thiras also called those whom he ruled over *Thirassians*; but the Greeks changed the name into *Thracians*. And so many were the countries that had the children of Japhet for their inhabitants. Of the three sons of Gomer, Aschanaz founded the Aschanassians, who are now called by the Greeks *Rheginians*. So did Riphath found the Ripheans, now called *Paphlagonians*; and Thrugramma the Thrugrammeans, who, as the Greeks resolved, were named *Phrygians*. Of the three sons of Javan also, the son of Japhet, Elisa gave name to the Eliseans, who were his subjects; they are now the *Æolians*. Tharsus to the Tharsians; for so was Cilicia of old called; the sign of which is this, that the noblest city they have, and a metropolis also, is Tarsus, the *Tau*, being by change put for the *Theta*. Cethimus possessed the island Cethima; it is now called *Cyprus*; and from that it is that all islands, and the greatest part of the sea coasts, are named Cethim by the Hebrews; and one city there is in Cyprus that has been able to preserve its denomination; it is called *Citius*, by those who use the language of the Greeks, and has not, by the use of that dialect, escaped the name of Cethim. And so many nations have the children and grand-children of Japhet possessed. Now when I have premised somewhat, which perhaps the Greeks do not know, I will return and explain what I have omitted; for such names are pronounced here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my readers, for our own country language does not so pronounce them:

them: B
ending; f
Noah, and
2. The
Amanus,
was on its
their c
ed away
given the
which ha
sons of H
the Ethi
both by
The men
for all w
Mefre,
founder
himself:
which b
greatest
river, an
But the
one of
will info
has been
inhabit
his own
these:
ed the
the Sal
rans:
means
settled
and let
Nimro
as we
Mefra
Gaza
Philist
As for
alone
self:

them: But the names in all *cases* are of one and the same ending; for the name we here pronounce *Noe*, is there *Noah*, and in every *case* retains the same termination.

2. The children of Ham possessed the land from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus, seizing upon all that was on its sea-coasts, and as far as the ocean, and keeping it to their own. Some indeed of its names are utterly vanished away; others of them being changed, and another sound given them, are hardly to be discovered, yet a few there are which have kept their denominations entire: For of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of *Chus*; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day, both by themselves, and by all men in Asia, called *Chusites*. The memory also of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit this country [of Judea] call Egypt *Mesre*, and the Egyptians *Mesreans*. Phut also was the founder of Libya, and called the inhabitants *Phutites*, from himself: There is also a river in the country of the Moors which bears that name; whence it is that we may see the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river, and the adjoining country, by the appellation of *Phut*: But the name it has now has been by change given it from one of the sons of Mesraim, who was called *Lybyos*. We will inform you presently what has been the occasion why it has been called *Africa* also. Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, inhabited the country now called *Judea*, and called it from his own name *Canaan*. The children of these [four] were these: Sabas, who founded the Sabeans; Evilas, who founded the Evileans, who are called *Getuli*; Sabathes founded the Sabathens; they are now called by the Greeks *Asiabians*: Sabactas settled the Sabactens; and Ragmus the Ragmeans: and he had two sons, the one of which, Judadas, settled the Judadeans, a nation of the western Ethiopians, and left them his name; as did Sabas to the Sabeans: But Nimrod, the son of Chus, stayed and tyrannized at Babylon, as we have already informed you. Now all the children of Mesraim, being eight in number, possessed the country from Gaza to Egypt, though it retained the name of one only, the *Philistim*, for the Greeks call part of that country *Palestine*. As for the rest, Ludieim, and Enemim, and Labim, who alone inhabited in Libya, and called the country from himself: Nedim, and Phethrosim, and Chesloim, and Cepthorim,

rim, we know nothing of them besides their names; for the * Ethiopic war, which we shall describe hereafter, was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan were these, Sidonius, who also built a city of the same name; it is called by the Greeks *Sidon*: Amathus inhabited in Amathine, which is even now called *Anatbe* by the inhabitants, although the Macedonians named it *Epiphanis*, from one of his posterity: Arudeus possessed the island Aradus: Arucas possessed Arce, which is in Libanus. But for the seven others [Eueus,] Chetteus, Jehuseus, Amorreus, Gergeus, Eudeus, Sineus, Samareus, we have nothing in the sacred books but their names, for the Hebrews overthrew their cities; and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following.

3. Noah, when after the deluge, the earth was resettled in its former condition, set about its cultivation; and when he had planted it with vines, and when the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and feasted, and being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay naked in an unseemly manner. When his youngest son saw this, he came laughing, and shewed him to his brethren; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what had been done, he prayed for prosperity to his other sons; but for Ham, he did not curse him, by reason of his nearness in blood, but cursed his posterity: And when the rest of them escaped that curse, God inflicted it on the children of Canaan. But as to these matters we shall speak more hereafter.

4. Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian ocean. For Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur lived at the city Ninive; and named his subjects *Assyrians*, who became the most fortunate nation, beyond others. Arphaxad named the *Arphaxadites*,

* One observation ought not here to be neglected, with regard to that Ethiopic war, which Moses, as general of the Egyptians, put an end to, Antiq. B. II. ch. x. and about which our late writer seems very much unconcerned; viz. that it was a war of that consequence, as to occasion the removal or destruction of six or seven nations of the posterity of Mizraim, with their cities: Which Josephus would not have said, if he had not had ancient records to justify those his assertions, though those records be now all lost.

Adites, who
ramites, w
Landites
of Aram,
try lies be
mania; an
it is now
phaxad; i
called the
leg: He
person of
among th
the sons o
moth, Je
Ophir, E
an Indian
this shall

5. I w
whose fa
to whom
the fath
Noah, a
year afte
sieth ye
and twe
dred an
dred an
Heber b
he himse
and thir
hundred
son of S
Abram

* Tha
ter, our
the Heb
pose. S
all the E
Gen. x.
original
the Pass
had ther
Hebrew

Arames, who are now called *Chaldeans*. Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks call *Syrian*; as Laod founded the Laodites, which are now called *Lydians*. Of the four sons of Aram, Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus; this country lies between Palestine and Celestria. Ul founded Armenia; and Gather the Bactrians; and Mesa the Mesaneans; it is now called *Charax Spasini*. Sala was the son of Arphaxad; and his son was Heber, from whom they originally called the Jews * *Hebrews*. Heber begat Joctan and Phaleg: He was called Phaleg because he was born at the dispersion of the nations to their several countries; for Phaleg among the Hebrews signifies *division*. Now Joctan, one of the sons of Heber, had these sons Elmodad, Saleph, Afermoth, Jera, Adoram, Aizel, Decla, Ebal, Abimael, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilat, and Jobab. These inhabited from Cophen, an Indian river, and in part of Aria adjoining to it. And this shall suffice concerning the sons of Shem.

5. I will now treat of the Hebrews. The son of Phaleg, whose father was Heber, was Ragau; whose son was Serug, to whom was born Nahor: his son was Terah, who was the father of Abraham, who accordingly was the tenth from Noah, and was born in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge; for Terah begat Abram in his seventieth year. Nahor begat Haran, when he was one hundred and twenty years old: Nahor was born to Serug at his hundred and thirty-second year; Ragau had Serug at one hundred and thirty; at the same age also Phaleg had Ragau: Heber begat Phaleg in his hundred and thirty-fourth year; he himself being begotten by Sala when he was an hundred and thirty years old, whom Arphaxad had for his son at the hundred and thirty-fifth year of his age. Arphaxad was the son of Shem, and born twelve years after the deluge. Now Abram had two brethren, Nahor and Haran: Of these, Haran

* That the Jews were called *Hebrews* from this their progenitor Heber, our author Josephus here rightly asserts; and not from Abram the Hebrew, or *Passenger* over Euphrates, as many of the moderns suppose. Shem is also called the *Father of all the children of Heber*, or of *all the Hebrews*, in an history long before Abram passed over Euphrates, Gen. x. 21. though it must be confessed, that Gen. xiv. 13. where the original says, they told Abram the Hebrew, the Septuagint renders it, the *Passenger*, *περατης*: But this is spoken only of Abram himself who had then lately passed over Euphrates, and is another signification of the Hebrew word, taken as an appellative, and not as a proper name.

ran left a son, Lot; as also Sarai and Milcha his daughters and died among the Chaldeans, in a city of the Chaldeans called *Ur*; and his monument is shewed to this day. They married their nieces. Nahor married Milcha, and Abram married Sarai. Now Terah hating Chaldea, on account of his mourning for Haran, they all removed to Haran of Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred and five years old; for the life of man was already, by degrees, diminished, and became shorter than before, till the birth of Moses; after whom the term of human life was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milcha? Uz, and Buz, Kemuel, Chesed, Azau, Pheldas, Jadelph, and Bethuel. These were all the genuine sons of Nahor; for Teba and Gaam, and Thachas, and Maaca, were born of Reuma his concubine: but Bethuel had a daughter Rebecca, and a son Laban.

C H A P. VII.

How Abram our forefather went out of the land of the Chaldeans, and lived in the land then called Canaan, but now Judea.

§ 1. Now Abram having no son of his own adopted Lot, his brother Haran's son, and his wife Sarai's brother; and he left the land of Chaldea, when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things, and persuading his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions; for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men happened then to have concerning God; for he was the first that ventured to publish this notion, that there was but One God, the Creator of the Universe; and that as to other [gods], if they contributed any thing to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both at land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun and moon, and all the heavenly bodies, thus: "If [said he] these bodies had power of their

"own

own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain, that so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honour and thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldeans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command, and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan: And when he was there settled, he built an altar, and performed a sacrifice to God.

2. Berofus mentions our father Abram without naming him, when he says thus: "In the tenth generation after the flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man, righteous, and great, and skilful in the celestial science." But Herodotus does more than barely mention him; for he composed and left behind him a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his history, says thus: "Abram reigned at Damascus, being a foreigner, who came with an army out of the land above Babylon, called the land of the *Chaldeans*: But after a long time he got him up, and removed from that country also, with his people, and went into the land then called the land of *Canaan*, but now the land of *Judea*, and this when his posterity were become a multitude; as to which posterity of his we relate their history in another work. Now the name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus; and there is shewed a village named from him, *The Habitation of Abram*."

C H A P. VIII.

That when there was a famine in Canaan, Abram went thence into Egypt; and after he had continued there a while, he returned back again.

1. **N**OW after this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discovered that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor of their priests, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow

follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own notions proved the truest. Now seeing he was to take Sarai with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the King should kill him on occasion of his wife's great beauty, he contrived this device: He pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a dissembling way to pretend the same, for he said it would be for their benefit. Now as soon as they came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would; for the fame of his wife's beauty was greatly talked of, for which reason Pharaoh the King of Egypt would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her himself, and was preparing to enjoy her; but God put a stop to his unjust inclinations, by sending upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. And when he inquired of the priests, how he might be freed from these calamities, they told him, that this his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. He then out of fear asked Sarai who she was, and who it was that she brought along with her. And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, that supposing the woman to be his sister, and not his wife, he set his affections on her, as desiring an affinity with him by marrying her, but not as incited by lust to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money; and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians. From which conversation, his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before.

2. For whereas the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abram conferred with each of them, and confuting the reasonings they made use of, every one for their own practices, he demonstrated that such reasonings were vain, and void of truth: Whereupon he was admired by them, in those conferences, as a very wise man, and one of great sagacity, when he discoursed on any subject he undertook; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them Arithmetic, and delivered to them the science of Astronomy; for before Abram came into Egypt they were unacquainted with those

parts

parts of 1
into Egy
3. As
parted th
tumultuo
pastures
he gave
would ta
were the
he himse
cienter t
the plain
which w
and the
its prop

The

§ 1. A

ing con
There
country
King o
the A
into fo
army h
ed, the
on the
ry two
bute:
army
mande
These
offspri
gainst
Slime-
now,
came
cernin
the S
Vo

parts of learning, for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

3. As soon as Abram was come back into Canaan, he parted the land between him and Lot, upon account of the tumultuous behaviour of their shepherds, concerning the pastures wherein they should feed their flocks. However, he gave Lot his option, or leave to choose which lands he would take; and he took himself what the other left, which were the lower grounds at the foot of the mountains; and he himself dwelt in Hebron, which is a city seven years anterior than Tanis of Egypt. But Lot possessed the land of the plain, and the river Jordan, not far from the city Sodom, which was then a fine city, but is now destroyed, by the will and the wrath of God; the cause of which I shall shew in its proper place hereafter.

CHAP IX.

The destruction of the Sodomites by the Assyrian War.

§ 1. **A**T this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches, and number of their youth. There were five kings that managed the affairs of this country, Ballas, Barlas, Senabar, and Sumobor, with the King of Bela; and each King led on his own troops: And the Assyrians made war upon them, and dividing their army into four parts, fought against them. Now every part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute upon the Kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years; and so long they continued to pay their tribute: but on the thirteenth year they rebelled, and then the army of the Assyrians came upon them, under their commanders Amraphel, Arioch, Chodorlaomor, and Tidal. These Kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrown the offspring of the Giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the *Slime-Pits*, for at that time there were pits in that place: but now, upon the destruction of the city of Sodom, that vale became the *Lake Asphaltites*, as it is called: however, concerning this lake, we shall speak more presently. Now when the Sodomites joined battle with the Assyrians, and the fight

was very obstinate, many of them were killed, and the rest were carried captive; among which captives was Lot, who had come to assist the Sodomites.

CHAP. X.

How Abram fought with the Assyrians, and overcame them, and saved the Sodomite prisoners, and took from the Assyrians the prey they had gotten.

§ 1. WHEN Abram heard of their calamity, he was at once afraid for Lot his kinsman, and pitied the Sodomites, his friends and neighbours, and thinking it proper to afford them assistance, he did not delay it, but marched hastily, and the fifth night fell upon the Assyrians, near Dan, for that is the name of the other spring of Jordan; and before they could arm themselves, he slew some as they were in their beds, before they could suspect any harm; and others, who were not yet gone to sleep, but were so drunk they could not fight, ran away. Abram pursued after them, till on the second day he drove them in a body unto Hoba, a place belonging to Damascus; and thereby demonstrated that victory does not depend on multitude, and the number of hands, but the alacrity and courage of soldiers overcome the most numerous bodies of men, while he got the victory over so great an army with no more than three hundred and eighteen of his servants, and three of his friends: But all those that fled returned home ingloriously.

2. So Abram, when he had saved the captive Sodomites, who had been taken by the Assyrians, and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in peace. Now the King of Sodom met him at a certain place, which they called *The King's dale*, where Melchisedec, King of the city Salem, received him. That name signifies *The righteous King*; and such he was without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the Priest of God: However, they afterward called it *Salem Jerusalem*. Now this Melchisedec supplied Abram's army in an hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they were feasting, he began to praise him, and to bless God for subduing his enemies under him. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his prey, he accepted of the gift: But the King of Sodom desired Abram to take the prey; but intreated that he might have these men re-

stored

stored to
because
nor woul
his serva
part to
first of th

3. An

not how

such thy

tage wil

to enjoy

God pr

erity sh

should l

sacrifice

sacrifice

and a sh

of thre

he was

he did

where

vine w

would

Egypt

should

mies,

themse

4.

place

But b

to gra

him t

all th

ver si

Acco

* I

the la

mals

any o

serve

† A

E. II.

stored to him whom Abraham had saved from the Assyrians, because they belonged to him. But Abram would not do so; nor would make any other advantage of that prey, than what his servants had eaten; but still insisted that he should afford a part to his friends that had assisted him in the battle. The first of them was called *Ejchol*, and then *Enner*, and *Mambre*.

3. And God commended his virtue, and said, Thou shalt not however lose the rewards thou hast deserved to receive by such thy glorious actions. He answered, And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none to enjoy them after me? for he was hitherto childless. And God promised that he should have a son, and that his posterity should be very numerous, insomuch that their number should be like the stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacrifice to God, as he commanded him. The manner of the sacrifice was this: * He took an heifer of three years old, and a she goat of three years old, and a ram in like manner of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon; and, as he was enjoined, he divided the three former, but the birds he did not divide. After which, before he built his altar, where the birds of prey flew about as desirous of blood, a divine voice came to him, declaring that their neighbours would be grievous to his posterity, when they should be in Egypt, for † four hundred years; during which time they should be afflicted, but afterward should overcome their enemies, should conquer the Canaanites in war, and possess themselves of their land, and of their cities.

4. Now Abraham dwelt near the Oak called *Ogyges*; the place belongs to Canaan, not far from the city of Hebron. But being uneasy at his wife's barrenness, he intreated God to grant that he might have male issue; and God required of him to be of good courage; and said, that he would add to all the rest of the benefits that he had bestowed upon him, ever since he led him out of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accordingly Sarai, at God's command, brought to his bed

C 2

one

* It is worth noting here, that God required no other sacrifices under the law of Moses, than what were taken from these five kinds of animals which he here required of Abram. Nor did the Jews feed upon any other domestic animals than the three here named as Reland observes on Antiq. B. IV. ch. 4. § 4.

† As to this affliction of Abraham's posterity for 400 years, see Antiq. B. II. ch. ix. § 1.

one of her hand-maidens, a woman of Egyptian descent, in order to obtain children by her; and when this hand-maid was with child, she triumphed, and ventured to affront Sarai, as if the dominion were to come to a son to be born of her. But when Abram resigned her into the hand of Sarai, to punish her, she contrived to fly away, as not able to bear the instances of Sarai's severity to her; and she intreated God to have compassion on her. Now a *divine Angel* met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return to her master and mistress, for if she would submit to that wise advice, she would live better hereafter; for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant towards her mistress. He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her way, she should perish; but if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son who should reign over that country. These admonitions she obeyed, and returned to her master and mistress, and obtained forgiveness. A little while afterwards, she bare Ismael, which may be interpreted, *Heard of God*, because God had *heard* his mother's prayer.

5. The fore-mentioned son was born to Abram when he was eighty-six years old: But when he was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and promised him, that he should have a son by Sarai, and commanded that his name should be *Isaac*; and shewed him, that from this son should spring great nations and kings, and that they should obtain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to Egypt. But he charged him, in order to keep his posterity unmixed with others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and that this should be done on the eighth day after they were born: The reason of which circumcision I will explain in another place. And Abram inquiring also concerning Ismael, whether he should live or not, God signified to him, that he should live, to be very old, and should be the father of great nations: Abram therefore gave thanks to God for these blessings; and then he, and all his family, and his son Ismael, were circumcised immediately; the son being that day thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

C H A P. XI.

How God overthrew the nation of the Sodomites, out of his wrath against them for their sins.

1. **A**BOUT this time the Sodomites grew proud, on account of their riches and great wealth: they became unjust towards men, and impious towards God, insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him: they hated strangers, and abused themselves with Sodomitical practices. God was therefore much displeased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and to lay waste their country, until there should neither plant nor fruit grow out of it.

2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the Oak of Mambré, at the door of his tent, saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and desired they would accept of an entertainment, and abide with him; to which, when they agreed, he ordered cakes of meal to be made presently; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak. Now they made a shew of eating; and besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was, and when he said she was within, they said; they should come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which the woman laughed, and said, that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was an hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were Angels of God; and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two for the overthrow of Sodom.

3. When Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and intreated him that he would not destroy the righteous with the wicked. And when God had replied that there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such men among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot intreated them to accept of a lodging with him; for he was a very generous and hospitable man, and one that had learned to imitate the goodness of

Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw the young men to be of beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their lodgings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy those beautiful boys by force and violence; and when Lot exhorted them to sobriety, and not to offer any thing immodest to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house; and promised, that if their inclinations could not be governed, he would expose his daughters to their lust, instead of these strangers; neither thus were they made ashamed.

4. But God was much displeased at their impudent behaviour, so that he both smote these men with blindness, and condemned the Sodomites to universal destruction. But Lot, upon God's informing him of the future destruction of the Sodomites, went away, taking with him his wife, and daughters, who were two, and still virgins; for those that were * betrothed to them were above the thoughts of going, and deemed that Lot's words were trifling. God then cast a thunderbolt upon the city, and set it on fire, with its inhabitants; and laid waste the country with the like burning, as I formerly said when I wrote the † Jewish War. But Lot's wife continually turning back to view the city, as she went from it; and being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a ‡ pillar of salt: For I have seen it, and it remains at this

* These *sons-in-law* to Lot, as they are called. Gen. xix. 12---14, might be so styled, because they were betrothed to Lot's daughters, though not yet married to them. See the note on Antiq. B. XIV. ch. xiii, § 1. vol. III.

† Of the War, B. IV. ch. viii. § 4. vol. V.

‡ This *pillar of salt* was, we see here, standing in the days of Josephus, and he had seen it. That it was standing then is also attested to by Clement of Rome, contemporary with Josephus; as also that it was so in the next century, is attested by Irenæus, with the addition of an hypothesis, how it came to last so long, with all its members entire.—Whether the account that some modern travellers give be true, that it is still standing, I do not know. Its remote situations, at the utmost southern point of the sea of Sodom, in the wild and dangerous deserts of Arabia, makes it exceeding difficult for inquisitive travellers to examine the place; and for common reports of country people, at a distance, they are not very satisfactory. In the mean time, I have no opinion of Le Clerc's dissertation or hypothesis about this question, which can only be determined by eye-witnesses. When Christian Princes so called, lay aside their foolish and unchristian wars and quarrels, and send a body of

this day. N
place, enco
this day cal
brews use f
miserable l
his want of
5. But h
stroyed, *
not to be p
not utterly
was named
The young
from a king
Moabites,
was the fa
habitants c
from amor

Concernin
brahim
rity.

§ 1. A

sister, usi
and this
King of
Sarah, a
ed from

fit perfor
ancient m
sent lost a
but hardl

* I see
in a case
themselv
able nece
necessity
any such
their fat
from hi
which, a
good a

this day. Now he and his daughters fled to a certain small place, encompassed with the fire, and settled in it: It is to this day called *Zoar*, for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a *small thing*. There it was that he lived a miserable life, on account of his having no company, and his want of provisions.

5. But his daughters thinking that all mankind were destroyed, * approached to their father, though taking care not to be perceived. This they did; that human kind might not utterly fail: And they bare sons; the son of the elder was named *Moab*, which denotes one derived *from his father*; The younger bare *Ammon*, which name denotes one derived *from a kinsman*. The former of whom was the father of the Moabites, which is even still a great nation; the latter was the father of the Ammonites; and both of them are inhabitants of Cele-Syria. And such was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Abimelech; and concerning Ismael the son of Abraham; and concerning the Arabians which were his posterity.

§ I. ABRAHAM now removed to Gerar of Palestine, leading Sarah along with him, under the notion of his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before, and this out of fear: For he was afraid of Abimelech, the King of that country, who did also himself fall in love with Sarah, and was disposed to corrupt her; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust by a dangerous distemper; which
beseal

fit persons to travel over the East, and bring us faithful accounts of all ancient monuments, and procure us copies of all ancient records, at present lost among us, we may hope for full satisfaction in such inquiries; but hardly before.

* I see no proper wicked intention in these daughters of Lot, when, in a case which appeared to them of unavoidable necessity, they procured themselves to be with child to their father. Without such an unavoidable necessity, incest is an horrid crime; but whether in such a case of necessity as they apprehended this to be, according to Josephus, it was any such crime, I am not satisfied. In the mean time, their making their father drunk, and their sollicitous concealment of what they did from him, shews that they despaired of persuading him to an action which, at the best, could not but be very suspicious and shocking to so good a man.

beset him from God. Now, when his physicians despaired of curing him, he fell asleep, and saw a dream, warning him not to abuse the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends, that God had inflicted that disease upon him, by way of punishment for his injury to the stranger; and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife, for that she did not accompany him as his sister, but as his legitimate wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this perion be once secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this, by the advice of his friends he sent for Abraham, and bid him not be concerned about his wife, or fear the corruption of her chastity; for that God took care of him, and that it was by his providence that he received his wife again, without her suffering any abuse. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience; and said, that he had not had any inclination at first to enjoy her, if he had known she was his wife; but since, said he, thou leddest her about as thy sister, I was guilty of no offence. He also intreated him to be at peace with him; and to make God propitious to him: And that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but that if he designed to go away, he should be honourably conducted, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came thither. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him that his pretence of kindred to his wife was no lie, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think himself safe in his travels abroad without this sort of dissimulation; and that he was not the cause of his distemper, but was only solicitous for his own safety: He said also that he was ready to stay with him. Whereupon Abimelech assigned him land, and money; and they covenanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well called *Beersheba*, which may be interpreted, *The well of the oath*: And so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold to him, whom he named *Isaac*, which signifies *laughter*. And indeed they so called him, because Sarah *laughed* when * God said that she should bare a son, she

* It is well worth observation, that Josephus here calls that principal angel, who appeared to Abraham, and foretold the birth of Isaac, directly *God*; which language of Josephus's here, prepares us to believe those

not expecting bearing, for and; so the of each of him upon t continue th number of after the th tion, wh circumcised ve a part 3. As fo her own that of her eed in th Isaac, she v with him, aries, wh eaded Ab country. was so ze est barbar unprovid cause God So he del by himsel

those other to call him the Word, is the other any other

* Joseph above 13 when they and they v a little ch Josephus t ch. ix. § 2 bulus is st § 6, 7. v when he the War, they wer ch. ix. §

not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing, for she was ninety years old, and Abraham an hundred; so that this son was born to them both in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day: And from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons within that number of days. But as for the Arabians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ismael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom I will presently give a particular account, with great exactness.

3. As for Sarah, she at first loved Ismael, who was born of her own handmaid Hagar, with an affection not inferior to that of her own son, for he was brought up in order to succeed in the government: But when she herself had born Isaac, she was not willing that Ismael should be brought up with him, as being too old for him, and able to do him injuries, when their father should be dead; she therefore persuaded Abraham to send him and his mother to some distant country. Now at the first he did not agree to what Sarah was so zealous for, and thought it an instance of the greatest barbarity to send away a * young child, and a woman, unprovided of necessaries; but at length he agreed to it, because God was pleased with what Sarah had determined: So he delivered Ishmael to his mother, as not yet able to go by himself; and commanded her to take a bottle of water, and

those other expressions of his, that *Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man*, Antiq. B. XVIII. ch. iii. § 3. vol. IV. and of *God, the Word*, in his homily concerning Hades, may be both genuine. * Nor is the other expression of *divine angel*, used presently, and before, also of any other signification.

* Josephus here calls Ismael a *young child*, or *infant*, though he was above 13 years of age; as Judas calls himself and his brethren *young men*, when they were 47, and he had two children, Antiq. B. II. ch. vi. § 8. and they were of much the same age as is a damel of 12 years old called a *little child*, Mark v. 39---42. five several times. Herod also is said by Josephus to be a *very young man* at 25. See the note on Antiq. B. XIV. ch. ix. § 2. vol. III. and of the War, B. I. ch. x. vol. V. And Aristobulus is styled a *very little child* at 16 years of age, Antiq. B. XV. ch. ii. § 6, 7. vol. III. Domitian is also called by him a *very young child*, when he went on his German expedition at about 18 years of age, Of the War, B. VII. ch. iv. § 2. vol. VI. Samson's wife, and Ruth, when they were widows, are called *children*, Antiq. B. V. ch. viii. § 6. and ch. ix. § 2, 3.

and a loaf of bread, and so to depart, and to take necessity for her guide. But as soon as her necessary provisions failed, she found herself in an evil case; and when the water was almost spent, she laid the young child, who was ready to expire, under a fir tree, and went on farther, that so he might die while she was absent. But a *divine Angel* came to her, and told her of a fountain hard by, and bid her take care, and bring up the child, because she should be very happy by the preservation of Ishmael. She then took courage, upon the prospect of what was promised her, and meeting with some shepherds, by their care she got clear of the distresses she had been in.

4. When the lad was grown up, he married a wife, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to Ishmael twelve sons, Nabaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mabsam, Idumas, Mafmaos, Massaos, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Naphefus, Kadmas. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it *Nabatene*. They are an Arabian nation, and name their tribes from these, both because of their own virtue, and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

C H A P. XIII.

Concerning Isaac, the legitimate son of Abraham.

§ 1. Now Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his *only begotten*, and given to him at the borders of old age, by the favour of God. The child also endeared himself to his parents still more, by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, that when he should die, he should leave this his son in a safe and secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God: Who being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition towards himself, appeared to him, and "Enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; " how

* Note, that both here, and Heb. xi. 17. Isaac is called Abraham's *only begotten son*, though he at the same time had another son Ishmael. The Septuagint expresses the true meaning, by rendering the text, *the beloved son*.

how he ha
son Isaac,
ness, was
this son o
ingly he c
ah, and to
upon it; fo
tion towa
before the

2. Now
God in an
every circ
their life b
them. Ac
his own in
wife, as a
should ha
he took U
what thin
away to t
him two
mountain
in the pl
the moun
afterwar
them eve
animal th
five year
his fath
" anima
" That
" ble to
" have
" when
" God
" he w

* He
afterwar
tainly n
Procopi
not Sol
18, &c.

how he had made him superior to his enemies; and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said, that he required this son of his, as a sacrifice and holy oblation." Accordingly he commanded him to carry him to the mountain Moriah, and to build an altar, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it; for that this would best manifest his religious disposition towards him, if he preferred what was pleasing to God, before the preservation of his own son.

2. Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence, and the kindness he bestows on them. Accordingly he concealed this command of God, and his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants, otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took Isaac, together with two of his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then in the plain, and having his son alone with him, he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which King David afterwards built * the temple. Now they had brought with them every thing necessary for a sacrifice, excepting the animal that was to be offered only. Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was building the altar, he asked his father, "What he was about to offer, since there was no animal there for an oblation?" To which it was answered, "That God would provide himself an oblation, he being able to make a plentiful provision for men out of what they have not, and to deprive others of what they already have, when they put too much trust therein; that therefore if God pleased to be present and propitious at this sacrifice, he would provide himself of an oblation."

3. As

* Here is a plain error in the copies, which say, that King David afterwards built the temple on this mount Moriah, while it was certainly no other than King Solomon who built that temple, as indeed Procopius cites it from Josephus: For it was for certain David, and not Solomon, who built the *first altar* there, as we learn, 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, &c. 1 Chron. xxi. 22, &c. and Antiq. B. VII. ch. xiii. § 4. vol. II.

3. As soon as the altar was prepared, and Abraham laid on the wood, and all things were entirely ready, he said to his son, "O son, I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee for my son; when thou wast come into the world, there was nothing that could contribute to thy support, for which I was not greatly solicitous, nor any thing wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man's estate, and that I might leave thee at my death, the successor to my dominion: But since it was by God's will that I became thy father, and it is now his will that I relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind; for I resign thee up to God who has thought fit now to require this testimony of his favour to himself, on account of the favours he hath conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly thou, my son, wilt now die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but sent to God, the father of all men, before-hand, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world, neither by a disease, neither by war, nor by any other severe ways, by which death usually comes upon men, but so that he will receive thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succourer and supporter in my old age; on which account I principally brought thee up, and thou wilt thereby procure me God for my comforter instead of thyself."

4. Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with this discourse; and said, "That he was not worthy to be born a first, if he should reject the determination of God, and his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures, since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had so resolved." So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been done if God had not opposed it: For he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son; and said, "It was not out of a desire of human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him whom he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since therefore

therefore
the surpr
delight
that he
him, and
his son sh
an happy
dren, wi
also, that
that those
ing name;
Canaan, a
he produc
the sacrific
unexpected
blessings,
ed, they r
affording

VOL. I

* It seem
§ 1. that J
important
of the ear
and to thy
being, I th
yet since
an Ebioni
St. Paul,
interpretati
in the test
charges h
them in
"nal Kin
quaintanc
must sign
or a singl
in the sec
singular.
phrased b
of no suc

therefore he now was satisfied as to that his a'acrity, and the surprising readiness he shewed in this his piety; he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he would not be wanting in all sort of concern about him, and in bestowing other children upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age; that he should live an happy life, and bequeath a large principality to his children, who should be good and legitimate." He foretold also, that his family should increase into many nations; and that those * patriarchs should leave behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, which did not appear before, for the sacrifice. So Abraham and Isaac receiving each other unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together, God affording them his assistance in all things they desired.

VOL. I.

D

CHAP.

* It seems both here, and in God's parallel blessing to Jacob, ch. xix. § 1. that Josephus had yet no notion of the hidden meaning of that most important and most eminent promise, *In thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.* He saith not of seeds, as of many, but as of one; and to thy seed, which is Christ, Gal. iii. 16. Nor is it any wonder, he being, I think, as yet not a Christian. And had he been a Christian, yet since he was to be sure, till the latter part of his life, no more than an Ebionite Christian, who above all the apostles rejected and despised St. Paul, it would be no great wonder if he did not now follow his interpretation. In the mean time, we have in effect St. Paul's exposition in the testament of Reuben, § 6. in Authent. Rec. part I. p. 302. who charges his sons, "To worship the seed of Judah, who should die for them in visible and invisible wars; and should be among them an eternal King." Nor is that observation of a learned foreigner of my acquaintance to be despised, who takes notice, that as *seeds* in the plural must signify posterity, so *seed* in the singular may signify either posterity or a single person; and that in this promise of all nations being happy in the seed of Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob, &c. it is *always* used in the singular. To which I shall add, that it is sometimes, as it were, paraphrased by the *son* of Abraham, the *son* of David, &c. which is capable of no such ambiguity.

C H A P. XIV.

Concerning Sarah, Abraham's wife; and how she ended her days.

§ 1. NOW Sarah died a little while after, having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron; the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying-place: Which piece of ground Abraham bought for four hundred shekels, of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendents built themselves sepulchres in that place.

C H A P. XV.

How the nation of the Troglodytes were derived from Abraham by Keturah.

§ 1. ABRAHAM after this married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him, men of courage and of sagacious minds: Zambran, and Jazar, and Madan, and Madian, and Josabak and Sous. Now the sons of Sous were, Sabathan, and Dadan. The sons of Dadan were Latufim, and Assur, and Luom. The sons of Madian were, Ephas, and Ophren, and Anoch, and Ebidas, and Eldas. Now for all these sons and grand-sons, Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Troglodytis, and the country of Arabia *the Happy*, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this Ophren, that he made war against Lybia, and took it; and that his grand-children, when they inhabited it, called it from his name *Africa*. And indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to what I here say; who speaks thus: "Cleodemus the prophet, who was also called *Malchus*, who wrote an history of the Jews, in agreement with the history of Moses, their legislator, relates, that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah: Nay he names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhran. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two, Apher and Japhran, the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Lybia and Antæus; and that Hercules married

"Aphra's

"Aphra's
"and th
"people

§ 1. N

brother
about fo
to betro
stronges
given at
hands u
as the v
present
count t
try. T
for it r
which
of the
this, fo
avoided
the sex
urbs, l
water
found
servan
mar. i
made
him v

2.

the m
other
and
buke
and
body
She
he b
firin

“Aphra’s daughter, and of her he begat a son Didorus;
“and that Sophon was his son, from whom the barbarous
“people called *Sophacians* were denominated.”

CHAP. XVI.

How Isaac took Rebeka to wife.

§ 1. NOW when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had resolved to take Rebeka, who was grand-daughter to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, who was then about forty years old, he sent the ancientest of his servants to betroth her, after he had obliged him to give him the strongest assurances of his fidelity. Which assurances were given after the manner following: They put each others hands under each others thighs; then they called upon God as the witness of what was to be done. He also sent such presents to those that were there, as were in esteem, on account that they either rarely or never were seen in that country. This servant got thither not under a considerable time; for it requires much time to pass through Mesopotamia, in which it is tedious travelling, both in winter for the depth of the clay, and in summer, for want of water; and besides this, for the robberies there committed, which are not to be avoided by travellers, but by caution before hand. However, the servant came to Haran. And when he was in the suburbs, he met a considerable number of maidens going to the water; he therefore prayed to God, that Rebeka might be found among them, or her whom Abraham sent him as his servant to espouse to his son, in case his will were that this marriage should be consummated; and that she might be made known to him by this sign, that while others denied him water to drink, she might give it him.

2. With this intention he went to the well, and desired the maidens to give him some water to drink: But while the others refused, on pretence that they wanted it all at home, and could spare none for him, one only of the company rebuked them for their peevish behaviour towards the stranger; and said, what is there that you will ever communicate to any body, who have not so much as given the man some water? She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And now he began to hope that his grand affair would succeed; but desiring still to know the truth, he commended her for her ge-

nerosity and good nature, that she did not scruple to afford a sufficiency of water to those that wanted it, though it cost her some pains to draw it; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such a daughter; and may'st thou be espoused, said he, to their satisfaction, into the family of an agreeable husband, and bring him legitimate children. Nor did she disdain to satisfy his inquiries, but told him her family. They, says she, call me *Rebeka*; my father was Bethuel, but he is dead; and Laban is my brother, and, together with my mother, takes care of all our family affairs, and is the guardian of my virginity. When the servant heard this, he was very glad at what had happened, and at what was told him, as perceiving that God had thus plainly directed his journey: and producing his bracelets; and some other ornaments which it was esteemed decent for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, by way of acknowledgement, and as a reward for her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, it was but just that she should have them, because she was so much more obliging than any of the rest. She desired also that he would come and lodge with them, since the approach of the night gave him not time to proceed farther. And producing his precious ornaments for women, he said, he desired to trust them to none more safely, than to such as she had shewed herself to be; and that he believed he might guess at the humanity of her mother and brother, that they would not be displeased, from the virtue he found in her, for he would not be burthensome, but would pay the hire for his entertainment, and spend his own money. To which she replied, that he guessed right as to the humanity of her parents; but complained, that he should think them so parsimonious as to take money, for that he should have all on free cost: But she said, she would first inform her brother Laban, and, if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in.

3. As soon then as this was over, she introduced the stranger; and for the camels, the servants of Laban brought them in, and took care of them, and he was himself brought in to supper by Laban. And, after supper, he says to him, and to the mother of the damsel, addressing himself to her, "Abraham is the son of Terah, and a kinsman of your's, for Nahor, the grand-father of these children, was the brother of Abraham, by both father and mother; upon which account he hath sent me to you, being desirous to take this damsel
"for

for his f
brought
the most
but he w
out of re
here, wh
despise;
ther acc
light up
near to
well, a
which h
confirm
made b
have fo
tude, i
fel." U
and grea
as was d
tance be
were go

§ 1. A
in a ma
time o
he was
Isaac a

Concer

§ 1.]

• • T
death
ration
seems

for his son to wife. He is his legitimate son; and is brought up as his only heir. He could indeed have had the most happy of all the women in that country for him, but he would not have his son marry any of them; but out of regard to his own relations, he desired to match him here, whose affection and inclination I would not have you despise; for it was by the good pleasure of God, that other accidents fell out in my journey, and that thereby I light upon your daughter, and your house; for when I was near to the city, I saw a great many maidens coming to a well, and I prayed that I might meet with this damsel, which has come to pass accordingly. Do you therefore confirm that marriage, whose espousals have been already made by a divine appearance; and shew the respect you have for Abraham, who has sent me with so much solicitude, in giving your consent to the marriage of this damsel." Upon this they understood it to be the will of God, and greatly approved of the offer, and sent their daughter, as was desired. Accordingly Isaac married her, the inheritance being now come to him; for the children of Keturah were gone to their own remote habitations.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the death of Abraham

§ 1. A LITTLE while after this Abraham died. He was a man of incomparable virtue, and honoured by God in a manner agreeable to his piety towards him. The whole time of his life was one hundred seventy and five years; and he was buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ishmael.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob. Of their nativity and education.

§ 1. Now Isaac's wife proved with child, * after the death of Abraham; and when her belly was greatly burdened,

D 3

dened,

* The birth of Jacob and Esau is here said to be after Abraham's death; it should have been after Sarah's death. The order of the narration in Genesis not always exactly according to the order of time, seems to have led Josephus into it, as Dr. Bernard observes here.

dened, Isaac was very anxious, and inquired of God; who answered, That Rebeka should bear twins; and that two nations should take the names of those sons; and that he who appeared the second, should excel the elder. Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold, bare twins; the elder of whom, from his head to his feet, was very rough and hairy; but the younger took hold of his heel as they were in the birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was called *Esau*, a name agreeable to his *roughness*, for the Hebrews call such an *hairy roughness* * [*Esau*, or] *Seir*; but Jacob the younger, was best beloved by his mother.

2. When there was a famine in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, the land there being good; but he went to Gerar, as God commanded him. Here Abimelech the King received him, because Abraham had formerly lived with him, and had been his friend: And as in the beginning he treated him exceeding kindly, so he was hindered from continuing in the same disposition to the end, by his envy at him; for when he saw that God was with Isaac, and took such great care of him, he drove him away from him. But Isaac, when he saw how envy had changed the temper of Abimelech, retired to a place called *The Valley*, not far from Gerar; and as he was digging a well, the shepherds fell upon him, and began to fight, in order to hinder the work, and because he did not desire to contend, the shepherds seemed to get the better of him, so he still retired, and dug another well; and when certain other shepherds of Abimelech's began to offer him violence, he left that also, and still retired, thus purchasing security to himself by a rational and prudent conduct. At length the King gave him leave to dig a well without disturbance: He named this well *Rehoboth*, which denotes a *large space*; but of the former wells, one was called *Escon*, which denotes *strife*, the other *Sitenna*, which name signifies *enmity*.

3. It was now that Isaac's affairs increased, and his power was in a flourishing condition; and this from his great riches. But Abimelech thinking Isaac throve in opposition to him, while their living together made them suspicious of each other, and Isaac's retiring shewing a secret enmity also, he was afraid that his former friendship with Isaac did not secure him,

* For *Seir* in Josephus, the coherence requires that we read *Esau* or *Sir*, which signify the same thing.

him, if Isaac
formerly c
with him,
And whe
of Isaac's
Abimelech
wrath aga

4. Now

father pri
years, he

libamah, t

were gre

himself t

his own

his fath

given hi

contract

but not

to put a

5. Bu

called I

and the

from hi

to go o

son as h

might

and an

it was

rous, b

be me

* T

caught

and up

as was

come

sent, a

must

ward

how

migh

himse

A se

Esau

him, if Isaac should endeavour to revenge the injuries he had formerly offered him; he therefore renewed his friendship with him, and brought with him Philoc, one of his generals: And when he had obtained every thing he desired, by reason of Isaac's good nature, who preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had shewed to himself and his father, to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

4. Now when Esau, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was now come to the age of forty years, he married Adah, the daughter of Helon, and Aholibamah, the daughter of Esebeon; which Helon and Esebeon were great lords among the Canaanites, thereby taking upon himself the authority, and pretending to have dominion over his own marriages, without so much as asking the advice of his father; for had Isaac been the arbitrator, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his son, by commanding him to put away these wives, he resolved to be silent.

5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides his blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hindered him from his worship of God [by sacrifice], he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to prepare him * a supper, that after this he might make supplication to God to be to him a supporter and an assister, during the whole time of his life; saying, that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he was desirous, by his prayers for him, to procure, beforehand, God to be merciful to him.

Accordingly

* The supper of *savoury meat*, as we call it, Gen. xxvii. 4. to be caught by hunting, was intended plainly for a festival or a sacrifice; and upon the prayers that were frequent at sacrifices, Isaac expected, as was then usual in such eminent cases, that a divine impulse would come upon him, in order to the solemn blessing of his son there present, and his foretelling his future behaviour and fortune. Whence it must be, that when Isaac had unwittingly blessed Jacob, and was afterward made sensible of his mistake, yet did he not attempt to alter it, how earnestly soever his affection for Esau might incline him to wish it might be altered, because he knew that this blessing came not from himself, but from God, and that an alteration was out of his power. A second afflatus then came upon him, and enabled him to foretel Esau's future behaviour and fortune also.

6. Accordingly Esau went out a hunting. But * Rebekah thinking it proper to have the supplication made for obtaining the favour of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a supper: So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that by reason of its hairy roughness, he might, by his father, be believed to be Esau; for they being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of his fear, that before his father had made his supplications, he should be caught in his evil practice, and lest he should on the contrary, provoke his father to curse him. So he brought in the supper to his father. Isaac perceiving by the peculiarity of his voice who he was, called his son to him, who gave him his hand, which was covered with the goat's skin. When Isaac felt that, he said, "Thy voice is like the voice of Jacob, yet because of the thickness of thy hair, thou seemest to be Esau." So suspecting no deceit, he eat the supper, and betook himself to his prayers and intercessions with God; and said, "O Lord of all ages, and Creator of all substance; for it was thou that didst propose to my father great plenty of good things, and hast vouchsafed to bestow on me what I have; and hast promised to my posterity to be their kind supporter, and to bestow on them still greater blessings; do thou

* Whether Jacob or his mother Rebekah were most blameable in this imposition upon Isaac in his old age, I cannot determine. However, the blessing being delivered as a prediction of future events, by a divine impulse, and foretelling things to befall to the posterity of Jacob and Esau in future ages, was for certain providential; and according to what Rebekah knew to be the purpose of God, when he answered her inquiry, *before the children were born*, Gen. xxv. 23. that *one people should be stronger than the other people; and the elder, Esau, should serve the younger, Jacob*. Whether Isaac knew or remembered this old oracle, delivered in our copies, only to Rebekah; or whether if he knew and remembered it, he did not endeavour to alter the divine determination, out of his fondness for his elder and worse son Esau, to the damage of his younger and better son Jacob; as Josephus elsewhere supposes, Antiq. B. II. ch. vii. § 3. I cannot certainly say. If so, this might tempt Rebekah to contrive, and Jacob to put this imposition upon him. However, Josephus says here, that it was Isaac, and not Rebekah, who inquired of God at first, and received the forementioned oracle, § 1. which, if it be the true reading, renders Isaac's procedure more inexcusable: Nor was it probably any thing else that so much encouraged Esau formerly to marry two Canaanitish wives, without his parents consent, as Isaac's unhappy fondness for him.

thou there
look me,
of which
this my fo
thing tha
fession of
flow. M
and belo

7. Thus
been made
Esau came
mistake, he
made part
brother ha
his prayer
the mistak
ing, said,
body; i
tain glo
after hi

8. Now
that his b
cause of
suaded h
tamia, o
Basemm
consent,
approve
Basemm
had a gr

Concern

§ 1. F

(which
obsequ
ly jou
hated
any of

thou therefore confirm these thy promises, and do not overlook me, because of my present weak condition, on account of which I more earnestly pray to thee. Be gracious to this my son; and preserve him, and keep him from every thing that is evil. Give him an happy life, and the possession of as many good things as thy power is able to bestow. Make him terrible to his enemies, and honourable and beloved among his friends."

7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent: But Esau required that he might be made partaker of the like blessing from his father that his brother had partook of; but his father refused it, because all his prayers had been spent upon Jacob: So Esau lamented the mistake. However, his father being grieved at his weeping, said, That "he should excel in hunting, and strength of body; in arms, and all such sorts of work; and should obtain glory for ever on those accounts, he and his posterity after him; but still should serve his brother."

8. Now the mother delivered Jacob, when he was afraid that his brother would inflict some punishment upon him, because of the mistake about the prayers of Isaac; for she persuaded her husband to take a wife for Jacob out of Mesopotamia, of her own kindred, Esau having married already Basemmath, the daughter of Ishmael, without his father's consent, for Isaac did not like the Canaanites, so that he disapproved of Esau's former marriages, which made him take Basemmath to wife, in order to please him; and indeed he had a great affection for her.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Jacob's flight into Mesopotamia, by reason of the fear he was in of his brother.

§ 1. **H**ow Jacob was sent by his mother to Mesopotamia, in order to marry Laban her brother's daughter, (which marriage was permitted by Isaac, on account of his obsequiousness to the desires of his wife); and he accordingly journeyed through the land of Canaan: and because he hated the people of that country, he would not lodge with any of them, but took up his lodging in the open air, and laid

laid his head on an heap of stones that he had gathered together. At which time he saw in his sleep such a vision standing by him: He seemed to see a ladder, that reached from the earth unto heaven, and persons descending down the ladder, that seemed more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him, who calling him by his name, spake to him these words:

2. "O Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grand-son of one who had obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances, but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of all good things, by my assistance: For I brought Abraham hither, out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen, and I made thy father an happy man; nor will I bestow a lesser degree of happiness on thyself: Be of good courage therefore, and, under my conduct, proceed on in this thy journey, for the marriage thou goest so zealously about shall be consummated. And thou shalt have children of good characters, but their multitude shall be innumerable; and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom, and to whose posterity, I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the entire earth and sea, so far as the sun beholds them: But do not thou fear any danger, nor be afraid of the many labours thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come."

3. Such were the predictions which God made to Jacob: Whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard; and he poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of such great benefits was made. He also vowed a vow, that he would offer sacrifice upon them, if he lived, and returned safe; and if he came again in such a condition, he would give the tithe of what he had gotten to God. He also judged the place to be honourable, and gave it the name of Bethel, which, in the Greek, is interpreted, *The house of God*.

4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, with boys grown up, and maidens sitting about a certain well, he stayed with them, as wanting water to drink; and

and beginning to discourse with them, he asked them, whether they knew such an one as Laban, and whether he was still alive. Now they all said they knew him, for he was not so inconsiderable a person as to be unknown to any of them; and that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come, for by her means thou mightest learn more exactly whatever thou desirest to know about that family. While they were saying this, the damsel came, and the other shepherds that came down along with her. Then they shewed her Jacob, and told her, that he was a stranger, who came to inquire about her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was, and whence he came to them, and what it was he lacked that he came thither. She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affection which might arise thence, as by his love to the damsel, and his surprise at her beauty, which was so flourishing, as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said then, "There is a relation between thee and me, elder than either thy or my births, if thou be the daughter of Laban; for Abraham was the son of Terah, as well as Haran and Nahor. Of the last of whom, Nahor, Bethuel thy grand-father was the son. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. But there is a nearer and later cement of mutual kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to Laban thy father, both by the same father and mother: I therefore and thou are cousins-germans. And I am now come to salute you, and to renew that affinity which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebeka, as usually happens to young persons, wept, and that out of the kindness she had for her father, and embraced Jacob, she having learned an account of Rebeka from her father, and knew that her parents loved to hear her named; and when she had saluted him, she said, That "he brought the most desirable and greatest pleasure to her father, with all their family, who was always mentioning his mother, and always thinking of her, and her alone; and that this will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever." Then she bid him

go to her father, and follow her while she conducted him to him; and not to deprive him of such a pleasure, by staying any longer away from him.

6. When she had said thus, she brought him to Laban, and being owned by his uncle, he was secure himself as being among his friends; and he brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coming. But a little while afterwards Laban told him, that he could not express in words the joy he had at his coming: but still he inquired of him the occasion of his coming; and why he left his aged mother and father, when they wanted to be taken care of by him; and that he would afford him all the assistance he wanted. Then Jacob gave him an account of the whole occasion of his journey, and told him, "That Isaac had two sons that were twins, "himself and Esau; who, because he failed of his father's prayers, which by his mother's wisdom were put up for him, sought to kill him, as deprived of the kingdom which "was * to be given him of God, and of the blessings for "which their father prayed; and that this was the occasion "of his coming hither, as his mother had commanded him "to do: For we are all, says he, brethren one to another, "but our mother esteems an alliance with your family more "than she does one with the families of the country: so I "look upon yourself and God to be the supporters of my "travels, and think myself safe in my present circumstances."

7. Now Laban promised to treat him with great humanity, both on account of his ancestors, and particularly for the sake of his mother, towards whom, he said, he would shew his kindness, even though she were absent, by taking care of him; for he assured him he would make him the head shepherd of his flock, and give him authority sufficient for that purpose; and when he should have a mind to return to his parents, he would send him back with presents, and this in as honourable a manner as the nearness of their relation should require. This Jacob heard gladly; and said, he would willingly, and with pleasure,

* By this deprivation of the kingdom that was to be given Esau of God, as the first-born, it appears that Josephus thought that a kingdom to be derived from God, was due to him whom Isaac should bless as his first-born, which I take to be that kingdom which was expected under the Messiah, who therefore was to be born of his posterity whom Isaac should so bless. Jacob therefore, by obtaining this blessing of the first-born, became the genuine heir of that kingdom, in opposition to Esau.

pleasure, but desire was not cause she he was f sal. La sented to any bett would st send his ed of th there. agreed t to serve virtue, i And Jac he made Jacob's him, wh counten in drink knew w for his that nee not give another should l had fer he love the dan another 8. M donatio chel, b tresses.

VOL

* He such as again a men and forbid a is mean Constit

pleasure, undergo any sort of pains while he tarried with him, but desired Rachel to wife, as the reward of those pains, who was not only on other accounts esteemed by him, but also because she was the means of his coming to him; for he said he was forced by the love of the damsel to make this proposal. Laban was well pleased with this agreement, and consented to give the damsel to him, as not desirous to meet with any better son-in-law; and said he would do this, if he would stay with him some time, for he was not willing to send his daughter to be among the Canaanites, for he repented of the alliance he had made already by marrying his sister there. And when Jacob had given his consent to this, he agreed to stay seven years; for so many years he had resolved to serve his father-in-law, that having given a specimen of his virtue, it might be better known what sort of a man he was. And Jacob, accepting of his terms, after the time was over, he made the wedding-feast; and when it was night, without Jacob's perceiving it, he put his other daughter into bed to him, who was both elder than Rachel, and of no comely countenance: Jacob lay with her that night, as being both in drink, and in the dark. However, when it was day, he knew what had been done to him; and he reproached Laban for his unfair proceeding with him; who asked pardon for that necessity which forced him to do what he did; for he did not give him Lea out of any ill design, but as overcome by another great necessity: that notwithstanding this, nothing should hinder him from marrying Rachel; but that when he had served another seven years, he would give him her whom he loved. Jacob submitted to this condition, for his love to the damsel did not permit him to do otherwise; and when another seven years were gone, he took Rachel to wife.

8. Now each of these had hand-maids, by their father's donation. Zilpha was hand-maid to Lea, and Bilha to Rachel, by no means * slaves, but however subject to their mistresses. Now Lea was sorely troubled at her husband's love

VOL. I.

E

to

* Here we have the difference between *slaves* for life, and servants, such as we now hire for a time agreed upon on both sides, and dismiss again after the time contracted for is over, which are *no slaves*, but *free men* and *free women*. Accordingly, when the Apostolical Constitutions forbid a clergyman to marry *perpetual servants* or *slaves*, B. VI. ch. xvii. it is meant only of the former sort; as we learn elsewhere from the same Constitutions, ch. 47. Can. LXXXII. But concerning these twelve sons of Jacob;

to her sister; and she expected she should be better esteemed if she bare him children: So she intreated God perpetually; and when she had born a son, and her husband was on that account better reconciled to her, she named her son Reubel, because God had had *mercy* upon her, in giving her a son, for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bare three more sons; Simeon, which name signifies that God had *hearkened* to her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the *confirmer* of their friendship. After him was born Judah, which denotes *thanksgiving*. But Rachel, fearing lest the fruitfulness of her sister should make herself enjoy a lesser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to him her hand-maid Bilha; by whom Jacob had Dan: One may interpret that name into the Greek tongue, *a divine judgment*. And after him Nepthalim, as it were *unconquerable in stratagems*, since Rachel tried to *conquer* the fruitfulness of her sister by this *stratagem*. Accordingly Lea took the same method, and used a counter-stratagem to that of her sister's; for she put to bed to him her own hand-maid. Jacob therefore had by Zilpha a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted *fortune*: And after him Asher, which may be called an *happy man*, because he added glory to Lea. Now Reubel, the eldest son of Lea, brought * apples of mandrakes to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her the apples, for she longed to eat them: But when she refused, and bid her be content that she had deprived her of the benevolence she ought to have had from her husband, Rachel, in order to mitigate her sister's anger, said she would yield her husband to her; and he should lie with her that evening. She accepted of the favour, and Jacob slept with Lea, by the favour of Rachel. She bare then these sons, Issachar, denoting one born

Jacob; the reasons of their several names, and the times of their several births in the interval here assigned; their several excellent characters; their several faults and repentance; the several accidents of their lives; with their several prophecies at their deaths, see the Testaments of these twelve patriarchs, still preserved, at large, in the Authent. Rec. part I. p. 294---443.

* I formerly explained these *mandrakes*, as we, with the Septuagint, and Josephus, render the Hebrew word *Dudaim*, of the Syrian *Maui*, with Ludolphus, Authent. Rec. part I. p. 420. But have since seen such a very probable account in MS of my learned friend Mr Samuel Barker's of what we still call mandrakes, and their descriptions by the ancient naturalists and physicians, as inclines me to think these here mentioned were really mandrakes, and no other.

by hire;
towards
chel he
be anot

9. No
this tim
his fath
his fath
do it se
his wive
peared
the ima
used to
with he
hand-m
them.

Laban
took th
to desp
they w
recour

10.
with J
and pu
and on
ing on
them,
dream
daugh
any th
with J
numb
himself
by Ge
treat
pende
accuse

was p
of ell
" my
" kin
" had
" nor

by hire; and Zabulon, one born as a *pledge* of benevolence towards her; and a daughter, Dina. After some time, Rachel had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another *added* to him.

9. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban his father-in-law all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he contrived to do it secretly. He made trial therefore of the disposition of his wives, what they thought of this journey. When they appeared glad, and approved of it, Rachel took along with her the images of the gods, which, according to their laws they used to worship in their own country, and ran away, together with her sister. The children also of them both, and the hand-maids, and what possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know of it before hand. But the reason why Rachel took the images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship of those gods, was this, that in case they were pursued, and taken by her father, she might have recourse to these images, in order to obtain his pardon.

10. But Laban, after one day's time, being acquainted with Jacob's and his daughter's departure, was much troubled, and pursued after them, leading a band of men with him; and on the seventh day overtook them, and found them resting on a certain hill; and then indeed he did not meddle with them, for it was even-tide: But God stood by him in a dream, and warned him to receive his son-in-law, and his daughters, in a peaceable manner; and not to venture upon any thing rashly, or in wrath to them, but to make a league with Jacob. And he told him, that if he despised their small number, and attacked them in an hostile manner, he would himself assist them. When Laban had been thus forewarned by God, he called Jacob to him the next day, in order to treat with him, and shewed him what dream he had; in dependence whereon he came confidently to him, and began to accuse him, alleging that he had entertained him when he was poor, and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had; "For, said he, I have joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to me would be greater than before; but thou hast had no regard to either thy own mother's relation to me, nor to the affinity now newly-contracted between us; nor

" to those wives whom thou hast married; nor to those chil-
 " dren of whom I am the grand-father. Thou hast treated
 " me as an enemy, by driving away my cattle; and by per-
 " suading my daughters to run away from their father; and
 " by carrying home those sacred paternal images which were
 " worshipped by my forefathers, and have been honoured
 " with the like worship which they payed them, by myself.
 " In short, thou hast done this whilst thou wert my kinsman,
 " and my sister's son, and the husband of my daughters, and
 " was hospitably treated by me, and didst eat at my table."

When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defence: " That
 " he was not the only person in whom God had implanted
 " the love of his native country, but that he had made it na-
 " tural to all men; and that therefore it was but reasonable
 " that, after so long time, he should go back to it. But as
 " to the prey, of whose driving away thou accusest me, if
 " any other person were the arbitrator thou wouldst be found
 " in the wrong: For instead of those thanks I ought to have
 " had from thee, for both keeping thy cattle, and increasing
 " them, how is it that thou art unjustly angry at me because
 " I have taken, and have with me, a small portion of them?
 " But then, as to thy daughters, take notice, that it is not
 " through any evil practices of mine that they follow me in
 " my return home, but from that just affection which wives
 " naturally have to their husbands. They follow therefore
 " not so properly myself as their own children." And thus
 far of his apology was made, in order to clear himself of hav-
 ing acted unjustly. To which he added his own complaint
 and accusation of Laban; saying, " While I was thy sister's
 " son, and thou hadst given me thy daughters in marriage,
 " thou hast worn me out with thy harsh commands, and de-
 " tained me twenty years under them. That indeed which
 " was required in order to my marrying thy daughters, hard
 " as it was, I own to have been tolerable; but as to those
 " that were put upon me after those marriages, they were
 " worse, and such indeed as an enemy would have avoided."
 For certainly Laban had used Jacob very ill: For when he
 saw that God was assisting to Jacob in all that he desired, he
 promised him, that of the young cattle which should be born,
 he should have sometimes what was of a white colour, and
 sometimes what should be of a black colour; but when those
 that came to Jacob's share proved numerous, he did not keep

his

his faith
 next year
 possession
 such an in-
 ed to be

11. Bu
 for them
 ing infor
 on which
 ral purga
 ing any f
 cumstanc
 league w
 bear him
 Jacob m
 daughte
 so, whic
 erected
 called C
 of Gilead
 making

§ 1. N

gested
 place h
 knowin
 messen
 ing afr
 charge
 " thou
 " in an
 " and
 " mus
 " he l
 " wha
 " wha
 " thin
 " bro

his faith with him, but said he would give them to him the next year, because of his envying him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, because he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him.

11. But then, as to the sacred images, he bid them search for them; and when Laban accepted of the offer, Rachel being informed of it, put those images into that camel's saddle on which she rode, and sat-upon it: and said, that her natural purgation hindered her rising up: So Laban left off searching any farther, not supposing that his daughter, in such circumstances, would approach to those images. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by oaths, that he would not bear him any malice on account of what had happened; and Jacob made the like league, and promised to Love Laban's daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with oaths also, which they made upon certain mountains, whereon they erected a pillar, in the form of an altar: Whence that hill is called *Gilead*; and from thence they call that land *The land of Gilead* at this day. Now when they had feasted, after the making of the league, Laban returned home.

C H A P. XX.

Concerning the meeting of Jacob and Esau.

§ 1. Now as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition; and that place he named *The camp of God*. And being desirous of knowing what his brother's intentions were to him, he sent messengers to give him an exact account of every thing, as being afraid, on account of the enmities between them. He charged those that were sent to say to Esau, that "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him, while he was in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, was returning: That he brought with him his wives, and his children, with what possessions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands; and should think it his greatest happiness to partake together with his brother of what God had bestowed upon him." So these

messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother with four hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him with such a number of men, was greatly afraid: However, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself, and those that were with him, and overcome his enemies, if they attacked him injuriously. He therefore distributed his company into parts: Some he sent before the rest, and the others he ordered to come close behind, that so if the first were overpowered, when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And when he had put his company in this order, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made up of cattle, and a great number of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at certain intervals of space asunder, that by following thick one after another, they might appear to be the more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger on account of these presents, if he were still in a passion. Instructions were also given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

2. When Jacob had made these appointments all the day, and night came on, he moved on with his company; and as they were gone over a certain river called *Jabboc*, Jacob was left behind; and meeting with an angel, he wrestled with him, the angel beginning the struggle; but he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice, and spake to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose that his victory was a small one, but that he had *overcome a divine angel*; and to esteem the victory as a sign of great blessings that should come to him; and that his offspring should never fail; and that no man should be too hard for his power. He also commanded him to be called * *Israel*, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that *struggled with the divine angel*. These promises were made at the prayer of Jacob; for when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he

* Perhaps this may be the proper meaning of the word *Israel* by the present and the old Jerusalem analogy of the Hebrew tongue. In the mean time, it is certain that the Hellenists of the first century, in Egypt and elsewhere, interpreted *If-ra-el*, to be a man seeing God, as is evident from the argument fore-cited.

he desired he would signify to him what should befall him hereafter. And when the angel had said what is before related, he disappeared: But Jacob was pleased with these things, and named the place *Phanuel*, which signifies, *The face of God*. Now when he felt pain by this struggling, upon his broad sinew, he abstained from eating that sinew himself afterward; and for his sake it is still not eaten by us.

3. When Jacob understood that his brother was near, he ordered his wives to go before, each by herself, with the hand-maids, that they might see the actions of the men, as they were fighting, if Esau were so disposed. He then went up to his brother Esau, and bowed down to him, who had no evil design upon him, but saluted him; and asked him about the company of the children, and of the women; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that he would go along with him to their father: But Jacob pretending that the cattle were weary, Esau returned to Seir, for there was his place of habitation, he having named the place *roughness*, from his own *bairy roughness*.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the violation of Dina's chastity.

§ 1. **H**EREUPON Jacob came to the place, till this day called *Tents*, [Succoth] from whence he went to Shechem, which is a city of the Canaanites. Now as the Shechemites were keeping a festival, Dina, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But when Schechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and being greatly in love with her, he desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for a wife. To which desire he condescended; and came to Jacob, desiring him to give leave that his son Schechem might, according to law, marry Dina. But Jacob, not knowing how to deny the desire of one of such great dignity, and yet not thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, intreated him to give him leave to have a consultation about what he desired him to do. So the King went away, in hopes that Jacob would grant him this marriage. But Jacob informed his sons of the defilement of their sister, and of the address of Hamor; and desired them to give him their advice, what they should do. Upon this, the greatest

est part said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the brethren of the damsel, by the same mother, agreed between themselves upon the action following. It being now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch when they were asleep, and coming into the city, slew * all the males; as also the King, and his son, with them; but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister.

2. Now while Jacob was astonished at the greatness of this act, and was severely blaming his sons for it, God stood by him, and bid him be of good courage; but to purify his tents, and to offer those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when he went first into Mesopotamia, and saw his vision. As he was therefore purifying his followers, he light upon the gods of Laban (for he did not before know they were stolen by Rachel), and he hid them in the earth, under an oak, in Shechem. And departing thence, he offered sacrifice at Bethel, the place where he saw his dream, when he went first into Mesopotamia.

3. And when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephrata, he there buried Rachel, who died in child-bed: She was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for her a great while, he called the son that was born of her † *Benjamin*, because of the sorrow the mother had with him.

* Of this slaughter of the Shechemites by Simeon and Levi, see Authent. Rec. part I. p. 309, 418, 432--439. But why Josephus has omitted the circumcision of these Shechemites, as the occasion of their death; and of Jacob's great grief, as in the Testament of Levi, § 5. I cannot tell.

† Since *Benoni* signifies the son of my sorrow, and Benjamin the son of days, or one born in the father's old age, Gen. xlv. 20. I suspect Josephus's present copies to be here imperfect; and I suppose, that in correspondence to other copies, he wrote that Rachel called her son's name *Benoni*, but his father called him *Benjamin*, Gen. xxxv. 18. As for *Benjamin*, as commonly explained, the son of the right hand, it makes no sense at all, and seems to be a gross modern error only. The Samaritan always writes this name truly *Benjamin*, which probably is here of the same signification, only with the Chaldee termination *in*, instead of *im*, in the Hebrew, as we pronounce Cherubin or Cherubim indifferently. Accordingly both the Testament of Benjamin, § 2. p. 401. and *Philo de nominum mutatione*, p. 1059. write the name *Benjaminu*, but explain it not the son of his right hand, but the son of days.

him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males, and one female. Of them eight were legitimate, viz. six of Leah, and two of Rachel; and four were of the hand-maids, two of each; all whose names have been set down already.

CHAP. XXII.

How Isaac died, and was buried in Hebron.

FROM thence Jacob came to Hebron, a city situate among the Canaanites; and there it was that Isaac lived: and they lived together for a little while; for as to Rebeka, Jacob did not find her alive. Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son; and was buried by his sons, with his wife, in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them from their forefathers. Now Isaac was a man who was beloved of God, and was vouchsafed great instances of providence by God, after Abraham his father; and lived to be exceeding old: for when he had lived virtuously one hundred and eighty-five years, he then died.

CHAP.

BOOK II.

Containing the Interval of 220 Years.

[From the Death of ISAAC to the EXODUS out of Egypt]

CHAP. I.

How Esau and Jacob, the sons of Isaac, divided their habitation; and Esau possessed Idumea, and Jacob Canaan.

§ 1. AFTER the death of Isaac, his sons divided their habitations respectively. Nor did they retain what they had before; but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumea. He called the country by that name from himself, for he was named *Adom*; which appellation he got on the following occasion: One day returning from the toil of hunting, very hungry (it was when he was a child in age), he lighted on his brother when he was getting ready lentile-pottage for his dinner, which was of a very *red* colour; on which account he the more earnestly longed for it, and desired him to give him some of it to eat: But he made advantage of his brother's hunger, and forced him to resign up to him his birth-right, and he being pinched with famine, resigned it up to him, under an oath. Whence it came, that, on account of the *redness* of this pottage, he was, in way of jest, by his contemporaries, called *Adom*, for the Hebrews call what is red *Adom*; and this was the name given to this country: But the Greeks gave it a more agreeable pronounciation, and named it *Idumea*.

2. He became the father of five sons; of whom Jaus, and Jalomus, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was *Alibama*; but of the rest, *Aliphaz* was born to him by *Adama* and *Raguel* by *Basemath*: and these were the sons of Esau. *Aliphaz* had five legitimate sons, *Theman*, *Omer*, *Saphus*, *Gotham* and *Kanaz*; for *Amalek* was not legitimate, but

by a concubine, whose name was Thamna. These dwelt in that part of Idumea which was called *Gebalitis*, and that denominated from Amalek, *Amalekitis*; for Idumea was a large country, and did then preserve the name of the whole, while in its several parts it kept the names of its peculiar inhabitants.

C H A P. II.

Now Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's sons, was envied by his brethren, when certain dreams had foreshewed his future happiness.

1. IT happened that Jacob came to so great happiness as rarely any other person has arrived at. He was richer than the rest of the inhabitants of that country; and was at once envied and admired for such virtuous sons, for they were deficient in nothing, but were of great souls, both for labouring with their hands, and enduring of toil; and shrewd in understanding. And God exercised such a providence over him, and such a care of his happiness, as to bring him the greatest blessings even out of what appeared to be the most sorrowful condition; and to make him the cause of our fathers departure out of Egypt, him and his posterity. The occasion was this: When Jacob had this son Joseph born to him by Rachel, his father loved him above the rest of his sons, both because of the beauty of his body, and the virtues of his mind, for he excelled the rest in prudence. This affection of his father excited the envy and the hatred of his brethren; as did also his dreams which he saw, and related to his father, and to them, which foretold his future happiness, it being usual with mankind to envy their very nearest relations such their prosperity. Now the visions which Joseph saw in his sleep were these:

2. When they were in the middle of harvest, and Joseph was sent by his father, with his brethren to gather the fruits of the earth, he saw a vision in a dream, but greatly exceeding the accustomed appearances that come when we are asleep; which, when he was got up, he told his brethren, that they might judge what it portended. He said, "He saw the last night, that his wheat sheaf stood still in the place where he set it, but that their sheaves ran to bow down to it, as servants bow down to their masters." But as soon

as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph as if the dream were not by them understood: But they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bare a still greater hatred to him on that account.

3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon, and the rest of the stars, and came down to the earth and bowed down to him. He told this vision to his father and that, as suspecting nothing of ill-will from his brethren when they were there also, desired him to interpret what it should signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream for considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great thing thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time should come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things, and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon.

4. And thus did Jacob make a judgment of this vision and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger, that was to have those good things which were signified by the dream and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad; and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of the fruit was over, they went to Schechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage, there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their removal thither: Whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his sons condition, and receiving

no messen-
true state
out the
circumstanc
how they

How Joseph
son of
and ill

1. N

ence of
their fa-
that by
and the
opportuni-
of them
togethe
shewing
and the
wicked
though
more sh-
own br-
ly in t
plexity
and th
to hav
sider w
good a
to fear
of the
love th
Vor

* W
dream,
his fath
as still
told it
Gen. x

no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so, because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did.

C H A P. III.

How Joseph was thus sold by his brethren into Egypt, by reason of their hatred to him; and how he there grew famous and illustrious, and had his brethren under his power.

I. NOW these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by divine providence was delivered into their hands; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reubel, the eldest of them saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, shewing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it: that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them, but much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother; by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son's slaughter, and the * mother also be in perplexity while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he intreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them upon the death of so good a child, and their youngest brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to re-

VOL. I.

F

penitance

* We may here observe, that in correspondence to Joseph's second dream, which implied, that his *mother*, who was then alive, as well as his father, should come and bow down to him, Josephus represents her here as still alive after she was dead, for the decorum of the dream that foretold it, as the interpretation of that dream does also in all our copies, Gen. xxxvii. 10.

as they perceived the vision foretold that he should obtain power and great wealth, and that his power should be in opposition to them, they gave no interpretation of it to Joseph, as if the dream were not by them understood: But they prayed that no part of what they suspected to be its meaning might come to pass; and they bare a still greater hatred to him on that account.

3. But God, in opposition to their envy, sent a second vision to Joseph, which was much more wonderful than the former; for it seemed to him that the sun took with him the moon, and the rest of the stars, and came down to the earth, and bowed down to him. He told this vision to his father, and that, as suspecting nothing of ill-will from his brethren, when they were there also, desired him to interpret what it should signify. Now Jacob was pleased with the dream; for considering the prediction in his mind, and shrewdly and wisely guessing at its meaning, he rejoiced at the great things thereby signified, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time should come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, as guessing that the moon and sun were like his mother and father; the former, as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things, and the latter, he that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon.

4. And thus did Jacob make a judgment of this vision, and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him hereupon as if he were a certain stranger, that was to have those good things which were signified by the dreams, and not as one that was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad; and having fully ratified that intention of theirs, as soon as their collection of the fruits was over, they went to Schechem, which is a country good for feeding of cattle, and for pasturage, there they fed their flocks, without acquainting their father with their removal thither: Whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his sons condition, and receiving

no messengers
true state
bout them
cumstances
how they

*How Joseph
son of the
and illus*

§ I. NO

sence of a
their father
that by d
and they
portunity
of them f
together
shewing t
and the l
wicked i
though t
more flag
own brot
ly in the
plexity v
and this
to have a
sider wh
good a c
to fear C
of the d
love the
VOL.

* We
dream, w
his father
as still al
told it, a
Gen. xxx

no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so, because he was in great fear about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did.

CHAP. III.

How Joseph was thus sold by his brethren into Egypt, by reason of their hatred to him; and how he there grew famous and illustrious, and had his brethren under his power.

§ 1. NOW these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of an enemy, and one that by divine providence was delivered into their hands; and they already resolved to kill him, and not let slip the opportunity that lay before them. But when Reubel, the eldest of them saw them thus disposed, and that they had agreed together to execute their purpose, he tried to restrain them, shewing them the heinous enterprise they were going about, and the horrid nature of it: that this action would appear wicked in the sight of God, and impious before men, even though they should kill one not related to them, but much more flagitious and detestable to appear to have slain their own brother; by which act the father must be treated unjustly in the son's slaughter, and the * mother also be in perplexity while she laments that her son is taken away from her, and this not in a natural way neither. So he intreated them to have a regard to their own consciences, and wisely to consider what mischief would betide them upon the death of so good a child, and their youngest brother; that they would also fear God, who was already both a spectator and a witness of the designs they had against their brother; that he would love them if they abstained from this act, and yielded to re-

VOL. I.

F

pentance

* We may here observe, that in correspondence to Joseph's second dream, which implied, that his *mother*, who was then alive, as well as his father, should come and bow down to him, Josephus represents her here as still alive after she was dead, for the decorum of the dream that foretold it, as the interpretation of that dream does also in all our copies, Gen. xxxvii. 10.

penitance and amendment: But in case they proceeded to do the fact, all sorts of punishments would overtake them from God for this murder of their brother, since they polluted his providence, which was every where present, and which did not overlook what was done, either in desarts or in cities; for wheresoever a man is, there ought he to suppose that God is also. He told them farther, that their consciences would be their enemies if they attempted to go through so wicked an enterprise, which they can never avoid, whether it be a good conscience, or whether it be such an one as they will have within them when once they have killed their brother. He also added this besides to what he had before said, that it was not a righteous thing to kill a brother, though he had injured them; that it is a good thing to forget the actions of such near friends, even in things wherein they might seem to have offended; but that they were going to kill Joseph, who had been guilty of nothing that was ill towards them, in whose case the infirmity of his small age should rather procure him mercy, and move them to unite together in the care of his preservation. That the cause of killing him made the act itself much worse, while they determined to take him off out of envy at his future prosperity; an equal share of which they would naturally partake while he enjoyed it, since they were to him not strangers, but the nearest relations, for they might reckon upon what God bestowed upon Joseph as their own; and that it was fit for them to believe, that the anger of God would for this cause be more severe upon them, if they slew him who was judged by God to be worthy of that prosperity which was to be hoped for; and while by murdering him, they made it impossible for God to bestow it upon him.

2. Reubel said these, and many other things, and used intreaties to them, and thereby endeavoured to divert them from the murder of their brother. But when he saw that his discourse had not mollified them at all, and that they made haste to do the fact, he advised them to alleviate the wickedness they were going about in the manner of taking Joseph off; for as he had exhorted them first, when they were going to revenge themselves, to be dissuaded from doing it, so since the sentence for killing their brother had prevailed, he said that they would not however be so grossly guilty, if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad.

bad, but, in
He begged
their own h
by, and so t
that they w
To this the
lad, and tie
the pit, for
done this, v
for feeding

3. But J
Arabians, c
rian wares c
Reubel was
the pit, and
mong stran
this barbar
they drew
chants for
old. But R
ed to save
when, upo
afraid tha
which he
told him w

4. Who
considered
their fathe
which he
him down
coat to p
carry it, a
was destro
they came
to his son
said that
had befal
and torn t

* The S
the Hebre
was the tr

bad, but, in the distress they were in, of a lighter nature. He begged of them therefore not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so to let him die ; by which they would gain so much, that they would not defile their own hands with his blood. To this the young men readily agreed : So Reubel took the lad, and tied him to a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it ; who, when he had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for feeding their flocks.

3. But Judas, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Ishmael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead to the Egyptians, after Reubel was gone, advised his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to the Arabians ; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous action. This therefore was resolved on : So they drew Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchants for * twenty pounds. He was now seventeen years old. But Reubel coming in the night-time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the privity of his brethren ; and when, upon his calling to him, he made no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone ; of which he complained to his brethren, but when they had told him what they had done, Reubel left off his mourning.

4. When Joseph's brethren had done thus to him, they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had taken away from Joseph the coat which he had on when he came to them, at the time they let him down into the pit ; so they thought proper to tear that coat to pieces, and to dip it into goat's blood, and then to carry it, and shew it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. And when they had so done, they came to the old man, but this not till what had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge : Then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him, but that they had found his coat bloody, and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had

F 2

fallen

* The Septuagint have 20 pieces of gold ; the Testament of Gad 30 ; the Hebrew and Samaritan 20 of silver ; and the vulgar Latin 30. What was the true number, and true sum, cannot therefore now be known.

fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the coat he had on when he came from home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that this coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that this was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brethren: So he hereafter lamented the lad as now dead, and as if he had been the father of no more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest; and so he was also affected with his misfortune before he met with Joseph's brethren, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed in sackcloth and in heavy affliction, insomuch that he found no ease when his sons comforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the signal chastity of Joseph.

§ 1. **N**ow Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to King Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchants, who sold him to him. He had him in the greatest honour, and taught him the learning that became a free man, and gave him leave to make use of a diet better than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages; yet did not he leave that virtue which he had before, upon such a change of his condition, but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the uneasy passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a shew, under a present state of prosperity.

2. For when his master's wife was fallen in love with him, both on account of his beauty of body, and his dexterous management of affairs; and supposed, that if she should make it known to him, she should easily persuade him to come and lie with her, and that he would look on it as a piece of happy fortune that his mistress should intreat him, as regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character, which continued after his condition was changed: So she made known her naughty inclinations; and spake to him about lying with her. However, he rejected her intreaties, not thinking it agreeable to religion to yield so far to her, as

to do what v
purchased hi
He, on the
and laid bef
res, which
hope of succ
would endur
suaded to it
to do nothin
cused in a c
commands o
did not exp
him; and a
so the resol

3. When
in which it
solemnity,
contriving
might intre
ed, she used
that it had
licitation,
the revere
him, and b
she was fo
beneath h
prudent ac
for wheth
licitations
nessness t
this very
the festiv
mer disco
now gave
cation, th
on him;
fections,
already h
still gre
and hatr
ferred th
he woul

to do what would tend to the affront and injury of him that purchased him, and had vouchsafed him so great honours. He, on the contrary, exhorted her to govern that passion; and laid before her the impossibility of her obtaining her desires, which he thought might be conquered, if she had no hope of succeeding: and he said, that, as to himself, he would endure any thing whatever before he would be persuaded to it; for although it was fit for a slave, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was to such sort of commands only. But this opposition of Joseph's, when she did not expect it, made her still more violent in her love to him; and as she was forely beset with this naughty passion, so she resolved to compass her design by a second attempt.

3. When therefore there was a public festival coming on, in which it was the custom for women to come to the public solemnity, she pretended to her husband that she was sick, as contriving an opportunity for solitude and leisure, that she might intreat Joseph again: Which opportunity being obtained, she used more kind words to him than before; and said, that it had been good for him to have yielded to her first solicitation, and to have given her no repulse, both because of the reverence he ought to bear to her dignity, who solicited him, and because of the vehemency of her passion, by which she was forced, though she were his mistress, to condescend beneath her dignity, but that he may now, by taking more prudent advice, wipe off the imputation of his former folly; for whether it were that he expected the repetition of her solicitations, she had now made it, and that with greater earnestness than before, for that she had pretended sickness on this very account, and had preferred his conversation before the festival and its solemnity; or whether he opposed her former discourses, as not believing she could be in earnest, she now gave him sufficient security, by thus repeating her application, that she meant not in the least by fraud to impose upon him; and assured him, that if he complied with her affections, he might expect the enjoyment of the advantages he already had; and if he were submissive to her, he should have still greater advantages; but that he must look for revenge and hatred from her, in case he rejected her desires, and preferred the reputation of chastity before his mistress; for that he would gain nothing by such procedure, because she would

then become his accuser, and would falsely pretend to her husband that he attempted her chastity; and that Potiphar would hearken to her words rather than to his, let his be never so agreeable to the truth.

4. When the woman had said thus, and even with tears in her eyes, neither did pity dissuade Joseph from his chastity, nor did fear compel him to a compliance with her; but he opposed her solicitations, and did not yield to her threatenings, and was afraid to do an ill thing, and chose to undergo the sharpest punishment, rather than to enjoy his present advantages, by doing what his own conscience knew would justly deserve that he should die for it. He also put her in mind that she was a married woman, and that she ought to cohabit with her husband only; and desired her to suffer these considerations to have more weight with her than the short pleasure of lustful dalliance, which would bring her to repentance afterwards; would cause trouble to her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear she would be in, lest they should be caught; and that the advantage of concealment was uncertain, and that only while the wickedness was not known [would there be any quiet for them]; but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger: And he told her, that in the company of her husband she might have great boldness, from a good conscience, both before God, and before men. Nay, that she would act better like his mistress, and make use of her authority over him better, while she persisted in her chastity, than when they were both ashamed for what wickedness they had been guilty of; and that it is much better to depend on a good life, well acted, and known to have been so, than upon the hopes of the concealment of evil practices.

5. Joseph, by saying this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affections within the rules of reason: But she grew more ungovernable and earnest in the matter; and since she despaired of persuading him, she laid her hands upon him, and had a mind to force him. But as soon as Joseph had got away from her anger, leaving also his garment with her, for he left that to her, and leaped out of her chamber, she was greatly afraid lest he should discover her lewdness to her husband, and greatly troubled at the affront he had offered her, so she resolved

to

to be before
Potiphar, and
his pride and
thing in itself
his accusation
son, framing
orrow, which
lust, might a
so that when
the sight of
order the w
band, said
not punish
bed; who
to our hou
he been r
bounty, (c
he, in eve
to us): t
wife, and
wouldst l
deity, as
the restrai
not really
by his be
and what
he who
the gove
eldest se
Thus whe
garment, a
force her.
wife's tear
himself, a
let himsel
for grant
denning
lesfactor's
and bare
modesty

to be before hand with him, and to accuse Joseph falsely to Potiphar, and by that means to revenge herself on him for his pride and contempt of her; and she thought it a wise thing in itself, and also becoming a woman, thus to prevent his accusation. Accordingly she sat sorrowful, and in confusion, framing herself so hypocritically and angrily, that the sorrow, which was really for her being disappointed of her lust, might appear to be for the attempt upon her chastity; so that when her husband came home, and was disturbed at the sight of her, and inquired what was the cause of the disorder she was in, she began to accuse Joseph: And, "O husband, said she, mayst thou not live a day longer if thou dost not punish the wicked slave, who has desired to defile thy bed; who has neither minded who he was, when he came to our house, so as to behave himself with modesty; nor has he been mindful of what favours he had received from thy bounty, (as he must be an ungrateful man indeed, unless he, in every respect, carry himself in a manner agreeable to us): this man, I say, laid a private design to abuse thy wife, and this at the time of a festival, observing when thou wouldst be absent. So that it now is clear, that his modesty, as it appeared to be formerly, was only because of the restraint he was in out of fear of thee, but that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honour beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for, insomuch that he concluded, that he who was deemed fit to be trusted with thy estate, and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also." Thus when she had ended her discourse, she shewed him his garment, as if he then left it with her when he attempted to force her. But Potiphar not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears shewed, and what his wife said, and what he saw himself, and being seduced by his love to his wife, did not set himself about the examination of the truth, but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactor's prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness, that she was a woman of a becoming modesty and chastity.

CHAP. V.

What things befel Joseph in prison.

§ 1. Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself to make his defence, nor to give an account of the exact circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds and the distress he was in, firmly believing, that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishments upon him; a proof of whose providence he quickly received: for the keeper of the prison taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had set him about, and the dignity of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy calamity lighter, and more supportable to him: He also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. Now as his fellow prisoners, when their hard labours were over, fell to discoursing one among another, as is usual in such as are equal sufferers, and to inquire one of another what were the occasions of their being condemned to a prison: Among them the King's cup-bearer, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds upon the King's anger at him. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more familiar with him; and upon his observing that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest had, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning, complaining; that besides the afflictions he underwent from the King, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams.

2. He therefore said, That in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already, and ripe for gathering; and that he squeezed them into a cup, which the King held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the King to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he saw; and he desired Joseph, that if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold. Who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days time, because the King desired his service, and was about to restore him to it again: for he let him know, that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which

wise

wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and mutual confidence among men; and puts an end to their quarrels, takes away passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. Thou sayest that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the King received it; know therefore, that this vision is for thy good, and foretels a release from thy present distress, within the same number of days, as the branches had whence thou gatheredst thy grapes with thy sleep. However, remember what prosperity I have foretold thee, when thou hast found it true by experience: and when thou art in authority, do not overlook us in this prison, wherein thou wilt leave us, when thou art gone to the place we have foretold; for we are not in prison for any crime, but for the sake of our virtue and sobriety are we condemned to suffer the penalty of malefactors, and because we are not willing to injure him that has thus distressed us, though it were for our own pleasure. The cup-bearer, therefore, as was natural to do, rejoiced to hear such an interpretation of his dream, and waited the completion of what had been thus shewed him before hand.

3. But another servant there was of the King's, who had been chief baker, and was now bound in prison with the cup-bearer, he also was in good hope, upon Joseph's interpretation of the other's vision, for he had seen a dream also; so he desired that Joseph would tell him what the visions he had seen the night before might mean. They were these that follow: Methought, says he, I carried three baskets upon my head, two were full of loaves, and the third full of sweetmeats, and other eatables, such as are prepared for Kings; but that the fowls came flying, and eat them all up, and had no regard to my attempt to drive them away. And he expected a prediction like to that of the cup-bearer's. But Joseph, considering and reasoning about the dream, said to him, that he would willingly be an interpreter of good events to him, and not of such as his dream denounced to him; but he told him, that he had only three days in all to live, for that the [three] baskets signify, that on the third day he should be crucified, and devoured by fowls, while he was not able to help himself. Now both these dreams had the same several events that Joseph foretold they should have, and this to both the parties; for on the third day before mentioned,

mentioned, when the King solemnized his birth-day, he crucified the chief baker, but set the butler free from his bonds, and restored him to his former ministration.

4. But God freed Joseph from his confinement, after he had endured his bonds two years, and had received no assistance from the cup-bearer, who did not remember what he had said to him formerly; and God contrived this method of deliverance for him. Pharaoh the King had seen in his sleep the same evening two visions; and after them had the interpretation of them both given him. He had forgotten the latter, but retained that of the dreams themselves. Being therefore troubled at what he had seen, for it seemed to him to be all of a melancholy nature, the next day he called together the wisest men among the Egyptians, desiring to learn from them the interpretation of his dreams: But when they hesitated about them, the King was so much the more disturbed. And now it was that the memory of Joseph, and his skill in dreams, came into the mind of the King's cup-bearer, when he saw the confusion that Pharaoh was in, so he came and mentioned Joseph to him,; as also the vision he had seen in prison, and how the event proved as he had said: as also that the chief baker was crucified on the very same day; and that this also happened to him, according to the interpretation of Joseph. That Joseph himself was laid in bonds by Potiphar, who was his head cook, as a slave; but he said, he was one of the noblest of the stock of the Hebrews: and said farther, his father lived in great splendour. If therefore thou wilt send for him, and not despise him on the score of his misfortunes, thou wilt learn what thy dreams signify. So the King commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence; and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent, as the King had enjoined them to do.

5. But the King took him by the hand; and, "O young man, says he, for my servant bears witness that thou art at present the best and most skilful person I can consult with, vouchsafe me the same favours which thou bestowest on this servant of mine, and tell me what events they are, which the visions of my dreams foreshew: And I desire thee to suppress nothing out of fear; nor to flatter me with lying words, or with what may please me, although the truth should be of a melancholy nature. For it seemed

" to

to me, that
very large,
marshes; a
met them
voured, wh
were no be
with famin
of my sleep
myself wha
and saw an
foregoing,
saw seven
their head
bending do
for reaping
meagre an
and confus
into great
6. To wh
King, alth
the same
which is
devoured
up by th
of the fr
and equa
and this
in the sa
of necess
ed; as a
had devo
still God
grieve th
may by
foretold
dispose o
mer year
not be f
7. Her
wisdom of
so dispen
as to mak

to me, that as I walked by the river, I saw kine fat and very large, seven in number, going from the river to the marshes; and other kine of the same number like them met them out of the marshes, exceeding lean, and ill-favoured, which eat up the fat and the large kine, and yet were no better than before, and not less miserably pinched with famine. After I had seen this vision, I awaked out of my sleep; and being in disorder, and considering with myself what this appearance should be, I fell asleep again, and saw another dream, much more wonderful than the foregoing, which still did more affright and disturb me: I saw seven ears of corn growing out of one root, having their heads born down by the weight of the grains, and bending down with the fruit which was now ripe, and fit for reaping; and near these I saw seven other ears of corn, meagre and weak, for want of rain, which fell to eating and consuming those that were fit for reaping, and put me into great astonishment."

6. To which Joseph replied: "This dream, said he, O King, although seen under two forms, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labour, devoured by the worser kine; and the ears of corn eaten up by the smaller ears, they foretel a famine and want of the fruits of the earth, for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was in an happy state; and this so far, that the plenty of these years will be spent in the same number of years of scarcity, and that scarcity of necessary provisions will be very difficult to be corrected; as a sign whereof, the ill-favoured kine, when they had devoured the better sort, could not be satisfied. But still God foreshews what is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that when they know it before hand, they may by prudence make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If thou therefore carefully dispose of the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, thou wilt procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians."

7. Hereupon the King wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him, by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops, in the happy years, as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added

added this his advice : To spare the good crops, and not permit the Egyptians to spend them luxuriously, but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury beyond their necessities against the time of want. He also exhorted him to take the corn of the husbandmen, and give them only so much as would be sufficient for their food. Accordingly Pharaoh being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dream but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with disposing the corn ; with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the King, as believing that he who first discovered the method of acting, would prove the best overseer of it. By Joseph having this power given him by the King, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, drove in his chariot through all the land of Egypt ; and * took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to every one as would be sufficient for seed, and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason why he did so.

C H A P. VI.

How Joseph, when he was become famous in Egypt, had his brethren in subjection.

§ 1. JOSEPH WAS NOW grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honours from the King, who called him *Psothom Phanech*, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom, for that name denotes *the revealer of secrets*. He also married a wife of very high quality ; for he married the daughter of † *Petephres*, one of the priests of Heliopolis : she was a virgin, and her name was *Asenath*. By her he had children before the scarcity came on, *Manasseh* the elder, which signifies *forgetful*, because his present

6

* That is, bought it for Pharaoh at a very low price.

† This *Potiphar*, or as in Josephus, *Petephres*, who was now a priest of On or Heliopolis, is the same name in Josephus, and perhaps in Moses also, with him who is before called the *Head Cook* or *Captain of the Guard*, and to whom Joseph was sold. See Gen. xxxvii. 36 xxxix. 1 with xli 50. They are also affirmed to be one and the same person in the Testament of Joseph, § 18. for he is there said to have married the daughter of his master and mistress. Nor is this a notion peculiar to the Testament ; but, as Dr. Barnard confesses, note on Antiq. B. II. ch. i. § 1. common to Josephus, to the Septuagint interpreters, and to other learned Jews of old time.

CHAP. VI.

happiness made him, the young man, who was sold to the Egyptians, had happily interpreted the eighth year, when they had been sorely afflicted, and he called the eighth year the year of the Egyptian people of the land. Also, Joseph had his brethren in subjection, and lived in happiness.

2. Now when the night came, the land of Egypt was dark, and this great darkness remained. But Joseph was of the house of the king, and then came the night, wanting to see him without his face, that was paid for. Now when he saw him, he was of him, for he now came to his face. Besides this, he suffered the trial, and made trial of him, and he was the best consequence of them, they were come from him, and preterit a private.

VOL. I

* This is the first time they are mentioned, and seems to be the first time.

happiness made him *forget* his former misfortunes; and Ephraim, the younger, which signifies *restored*, because he was *restored* to the freedom of his forefathers. Now after Egypt had happily passed over seven years, according to Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the famine came upon them on the eighth year; and because this misfortune fell upon them when they had * no sense of it before hand, they were all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the King's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become confessedly a saviour to the whole multitude of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also, Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally kin to one another, should have assistance from those that lived in happiness.

2. Now Jacob also when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine; and this great misery touched the whole continent. He only retained Benjamin, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same mother with Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied themselves to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing of this kind was done without his approbation, since even then only was the honour that was paid the King himself advantageous to the persons that paid it, when they took care to honour Joseph also. Now when he well knew his brethren, they thought nothing of him, for he was but a youth when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater, that the lineaments of his face were changed, and he was not known by them; besides this, the greatness of the dignity wherein he appeared suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refused to sell them corn, and said they were come as spies of the King's affairs; and that they came from several countries, and joined themselves together, and pretended that they were of kin, it not being possible that a private man should breed up so many sons, and those of so

VOL. I.

G

great

* This entire ignorance of the Egyptians of these years of famine before they came, told us before, as well as here, ch. v. § 7. by Josephus, seems to be almost incredible. It is in no other copy that I know of.

and said to them, That since you constantly affirm that you are not come to do any harm to the King's affairs; that you are brethren, and the sons of the father whom you named, you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here; and if, when you have carried corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there, along with you; for this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me. Hereupon they were in greater grief than before: they wept, and perpetually deplored one among another the calamity of Joseph; and said, "They were fallen into this misery as a punishment inflicted by God for what evil contrivances they had against him." And Reubel was large in his reproaches of them for their too late repentance, whence no profit arose to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment on his account. Thus they spake to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reubel's words, and a repentance for what they had done; and they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was so affected at it, that he fell into tears, and not being willing that they should take notice of him, he retired; and after a while came to them again, and taking * Symeon, in order to his being a pledge for his brethren's return, he bid them take the corn they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had brought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them therewith; who did what he was commanded to do.

5. Now when Jacob's sons were come into the land of Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were taken to have come thither as spies upon the King; and how they said they were brethren, and had left their eleventh brother with their father, but

G 2

were

* The reason why Symeon might be selected out of the rest for Joseph's prisoner, is plain in the Testament of Symeon, viz. that he was one of the bitterest of all Joseph's brethren against him, § 2. which appears also in part by the Testament of Zabulon, § 3.

were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the Governor, until Benjamin should go thither, and be a testimonial of the truth of what they had said: And they begged of their father to fear nothing, but to send the lad along with them. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done; and he took the detention of Symeon heinously, and thence thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reubel's persuasion, though he begged it of him; and gave leave, that the grand-father might, in way of requital, kill his own sons, in case any harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do: Nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more, the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed them, and when the famine still afflicted them, and necessity forced them, Jacob did * [not] still resolve to send Benjamin with his brethren, although there was no returning into Egypt unless they came with what they had promised. Now the misery growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper on other occasions, spake his mind very freely to him: "That it did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor to suspect the worst, as he did, for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must also for certain come to pass though he were at home with him: that he ought not to condemn them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, but ought to take care of the preservation of Symeon, lest, by attempting to hinder Benjamin's journey, Symeon should perish. He exhorted them to trust God for him; and said, he would either bring his son back to him safe, or, together with his, lose his own life." So that Jacob was at length persuaded, and delivered Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn doubled: he also sent presents to Joseph,

* The coherence seems to me to shew, that the negative particle is here wanting, which I have supplied in brackets, and I wonder none have hitherto suspected it ought to be supplied.

of the fruits
also turpenti
tears at the
His concern
after their j
and their fa
them. And
the old man
but they we
gate their g
of better fu

6. As fo
down to Jo
they should
had cheated
seph's stew
they found
brought it
what they
And when
some habit
time Josep
they offer
question t
found him
min was
ther? for
he replied
when his
desiring
Then Jo
in the fa
And alt
send a m
of the g
7. No
to sleep
their m
sacks; a

* Of
on Antic

of the fruits of the land of Canaan, * balsam, and rosin, as also turpentine, and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as well as themselves. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their concern was, that they might find their father well, and no way afflicted with grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day: So that the old man was at last tired with grief, and stayed behind; but they went on their way for Egypt, endeavouring to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

6. As soon as they came into Egypt they were brought down to Joseph: But here no small fear disturbed them, lest they should be accused about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. They then made a long apology to Joseph's steward; and told him, that when they came home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said, he did not know what they meant. So they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into an handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on the King. So they offered him their presents: and upon his putting the question to them about their father, they answered, that they found him well. He also, upon his discovery that Benjamin was alive, asked, whether this was their younger brother? for he had seen him. Whereupon they said he was; he replied, that the God over all was his protector. But when his affection to him made him shed tears, he retired, desiring he might not be seen in that plight by his brethren. Then Joseph took them to supper, and they were set down in the same order as they used to sit at their father's table. And although Joseph treated them all kindly, yet did he send a mess to Benjamin that was double to what the rest of the guests had for their shares.

7. Now when after supper they had composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its price again in their sacks; and that withal they should put into Benjamin's sack

G 3

the

* Of the precious balsam of Judea, and the turpentine, see the note on Antiq. B. VIII. ch. vi. § 6. vol. II. •

the golden cup, out of which he loved himself to drink. Which things he did in order to make trial of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having stolen the cup, and should appear to be in danger; or whether they would leave him, and, depending on their own innocency, go to their father without him. When the servant had done as he was bidden, the sons of Jacob, knowing nothing of all this, went their way, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause of joy, both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and asked what the reason was that they came thus upon men, who a little before had been by their lord thought worthy of an honourable and hospitable reception? They replied, by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgot that very hospitable and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him; and to carry off that cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drank to them, not regarding their friendship with Joseph, no more than the danger they should be in if they were taken, in comparison of the unjust gain. Hereupon he threatened, that they should be punished; for though they had escaped the knowledge of him, who was but a servant, yet had they not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had gone off with what they had stolen; and after all, asked, why we come upon them? as if they knew nothing of the matter: and he told them, that they should immediately know it by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them: but they being wholly ignorant of any thing here that concerned them, laughed at what he said; and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hardy as to accuse those who did not before so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it again, though nobody else knew of any such thing, so far were they from offering any injury to Joseph voluntarily. But still, supposing that a search would be a more sure justification of themselves than their own denial of the fact, they bid him search them, and that

that if any of them all; for crime, they sp out any dang might be a se extend to him So they mad they came la min's sack i indeed fearc rest were ou cerned abou would also that came a might, in t journey. B they found changed to ments, and to undergo on their fa min safe to melanchol they thou confessed, the grief since it w them, wh

8. Th him to J he saw h said " F " such a " provid " who i Whereu to save l prise th nounced in bein alive, th upon th

that if any of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for being no way conscious to themselves of any crime, they spake with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired there might be a search made; but they said, the punishment should extend to him alone who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search; and having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, as knowing it was Benjamin's sack in which they had hidden the cup, they having indeed searched the rest only for a shew of accuracy; so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still were well assured, that he would also be found innocent; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the mean while, have gotten a good way of their journey. But as soon as they had searched Benjamin's sack, they found the cup, and took it from him; and all was changed to mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft; and for the delusion they had put on their father, when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had been gotten off clear: But they confessed, that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them, when he was averse to it.

8. The horsemen therefore took Benjamin and brought him to Joseph, his brethren also following him; who, when he saw him in custody, and them in the habit of mourners, said "How came you, vile wretches as you are, to have such a strange notion of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, as impudently to do thus to your benefactor, who in such an hospitable manner had entertained you?" Whereupon they gave up themselves to be punished, in order to save Benjamin; and called to mind what a wicked enterprise they had been guilty of against Joseph. They also pronounced him more happy than themselves, if he were dead, in being freed from the miseries of this life; and, if he were alive, that he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing God's vengeance upon them. They said farther, that they were the plague of their

their father, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph, this other affliction for Benjamin. Reuben also was large in cutting them upon this occasion. But Joseph dismissed them; for he said, they had been guilty of no offence, and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment, for he said, it was not a fit thing to let him go free, for the sake of those who had not offended; nor was it a fit thing to punish them together with him, who had been guilty of stealing. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were under great consternation, and were able to say nothing on this sad occasion. But Judas, who had persuaded their father to send the lad from him, being otherwise also a very bold and active man, determined to hazard himself for the preservation of his brother. " * It is true, said he, O Governor, that we have been very wicked with regard to thee, and on that account deserve punishment; even all of us may justly be punished, although the theft were not committed by all, but only by one of us, and he the youngest also: But yet, there remains some hope for us, who otherwise must be under despair on his account, and this from thy goodness, which promises us a deliverance out of our present danger. And now, I beg thou wilt not look at us, or at that great crime we have been guilty of, but at thy own excellent nature, and take advice of thine own virtue, instead of that wrath thou hast against us: Which passion, those that otherwise are of a low character indulge, as they do their strength, and that not only on great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome, Sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor suffer it to slay those that do not otherwise presume upon their own safety, but are desirous to accept of it from thee; for this is not the first time that thou wilt bestow it on us, but before, when we came to buy corn, thou affordedst us great plenty of food, and gavest us leave to carry so much home to our family, as has preserved them from perishing by famine. Nor is there
" any

* This oration seems to me too large, and too unusual a digression, to have been composed by Judas on this occasion. It seems to me a speech or declamation composed formerly, in the person of Judas, and in the way of oratory, that lay by him, and which he thought fit to insert on this occasion. See two more such speeches or declamations, Antiq. E. VI. ch. xiv. § 4. vol. II.

" any differ
" rishing fo
" that seem
" to lose th
" they rece
" equal favo
" thou wilt
" other; a
" bounty, t
" tressed by
" a great t
" on us th
" may con
" that God
" ing thy v
" mity, th
" are done
" besides
" thy assist
" those wh
" glorious
" when it
" for if it
" as have
" loss, an
" offences
" are cap
" nature
" not bee
" cation
" afflicte
" on acc
" farther
" thyself
" lamen
" yelde
" But n
" thoug
" and b
" gard t
" accou
" We b

any difference between not overlooking men that were perishing for want of necessaries, and not punishing those that seem to be offenders, and have been so unfortunate as to lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction which they received from thee. This will be an instance of equal favour, though bestowed after a different manner; for thou wilt save those this way whom thou didst feed the other; and thou wilt hereby preserve alive, by thy own bounty, those souls which thou didst not suffer to be distressed by famine, it being indeed at once a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby, now we are distressed, we may continue those lives. And I am ready to suppose, that God is willing to afford thee this opportunity of shewing thy virtuous disposition, by bringing us into this calamity, that it may appear thou canst forgive the injuries that are done to thyself; and mayst be esteemed kind to others, besides those who, on other accounts, stand in need of thy assistance, since it is indeed a right thing to do well to those who are in distress for want of food, but still a more glorious thing to save those who deserve to be punished, when it is on account of heinous offences against thyself; for if it be a thing deserving commendation to forgive such as have been guilty of small offences, that tend to a person's loss, and this be praise-worthy in him that overlooks such offences, to restrain a man's passion, as to crimes which are capital to the guilty, is to be like the most excellent nature of God himself. And truly, as for myself, had it not been that we had a father, who had discovered, on occasion of the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons, I had not made any words on account of the saving of our own lives; I mean, any farther than as that would be an excellent character for thyself, to preserve even those that would have no body to lament them when they were dead, but we would have yielded ourselves up to suffer whatsoever thou pleasedst. But now, (for we do not plead for mercy to ourselves, though it seem, if we die, it will be while we are young, and before we have had the enjoyment of life), have regard to our father, and take pity of his old age, on whose account it is that we make these supplications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us those lives, which this wicked-

ness

"ness of ours has rendered obnoxious to thy punishment
 "and this for his sake who is not himself wicked, nor does
 "his being our father make us wicked. He is a good
 "man, and not worthy to have such trials of his patience
 "and now we are absent, is he afflicted with care for us
 "But if he hear of our deaths, and what was the cause of
 "it, he will on that account die an immature death: and
 "the reproachful manner of our ruin will hasten his end, and
 "will directly kill him, nay will bring him to a miserable
 "death, while he will make haste to rid himself out of the
 "world, and bring himself to a state of insensibility, before
 "the sad story of our end come abroad into the rest of the
 "world. Consider things in this manner, although our
 "wickedness does now provoke thee with a just desire of
 "punishing that wickedness, and forgive it for our father's
 "sake; and let thy commiseration of him weigh more with
 "thee than our wickedness. Have regard to the old age of
 "our father, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while
 "he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this boon
 "to the name of fathers, for thereby thou wilt honour him
 "that begat thee, and will grant it to thyself also, who en-
 "joyest already that denomination: thou wilt then, by that
 "denomination, be preserved of God, the father of all, by
 "shewing a pious regard to which, in the case of our fa-
 "ther, thou wilt appear to honour him who is styled by the
 "same name; I mean, if thou wilt have this pity on our
 "father, upon the consideration how miserable he will be if
 "he be deprived of his sons. It is thy part therefore to be-
 "stow on us what God has given us, when it is in thy
 "power to take it away, and so to resemble him entirely in
 "charity; for it is good to use that power, which can either
 "give or take away, on the merciful side; and when it is
 "in thy power to destroy, to forget that thou ever hadst that
 "power; and to look on thyself as only allowed power for
 "preservation; and that the more any one extends this
 "power, the greater reputation does he gain to himself.
 "Now by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily com-
 "mitted, thou wilt preserve us all: for we cannot think of
 "living if he be put to death, since we dare not shew our-
 "selves alive to our father without our brother, but here
 "must we partake of one and the same catastrophe of his
 "life. And so far we beg of thee, O Governor, that if
 "thou

"thou conde
 "together w
 "not think
 "grief of ou
 "ly guilty v
 "thee this
 "viz. that
 "young, an
 "and that m
 "I end her
 "in case th
 "posed to h
 "verer side
 "be ascribe
 "ly conscie
 "that not
 "a favour
 "really are
 "our deliv
 "therefore
 "me in hi
 "thou ple
 "to labou
 "seest, am
 "So Judas
 "for the d
 "Joseph's f
 "his anger.
 "weeping,
 "the preser
 "10. F
 "and no lo
 "all that v
 "known to
 "the rest v
 "then; a
 "your k
 "I coul

* In
 supposed
 of Joseph
 10.

" thou condemnest our brother to die, thou wilt punish us
 " together with him, as partners of his crime; for we shall
 " not think it reasonable to be reserved to kill ourselves for
 " grief of our brother's death, but so to die rather as equal-
 " ly guilty with him of this crime. I will only leave with
 " thee this one consideration, and then will say no more,
 " viz. that our brother committed his fault when he was
 " young, and not yet of confirmed wisdom in his conduct,
 " and that men naturally forgive such young persons. And
 " I end here, without adding what more I have to say, that
 " in case thou condemnest us, that omission may be sup-
 " posed to have hurt us, and permitted thee to take the se-
 " verer side. But in case thou settest us free, that this may
 " be ascribed to thy own goodness, of which thou art inward-
 " ly conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation; and
 " that not by barely preserving us, but by granting us such
 " a favour as will make us appear more righteous than we
 " really are, and by representing to thyself more motives for
 " our deliverance than we are able to produce ourselves. If
 " therefore thou resolvest to slay him, I desire thou wilt slay
 " me in his stead, and send him back to his father; or if
 " thou pleakest to retain him with thee as a slave, I am siter
 " to labour for thy advantage in that capacity, and, as thou
 " seest, am better prepared for either of * those sufferings."

So Judas being very willing to undergo any thing whatever
 for the deliverance of his brother, cast himself down at
 Joseph's feet, and earnestly laboured to assuage and pacify
 his anger. All his brethren also fell down before him,
 weeping, and delivering themselves up to destruction for
 the preservation of the life of Benjamin.

10. But Joseph, as overcome now with his affections,
 and no longer able to personate an angry man, commanded
 all that were present to depart, that he might make himself
 known to his brethren, when they were alone. And when
 the rest were gone out, he made himself known to his bre-
 thren; and said, " I commend you for your virtue, and
 " your kindness to our brother; I find you better men than
 " I could have expected from what you contrived about me.

" Indeed

* In all this speech of Judas's we may observe, that Josephus still
 supposed that death was the punishment of theft in Egypt, in the days
 of Joseph, though it never was so among the Jews, by the law of Mo-
 ses.

" Indeed, I did all this to try your love to your brother,
 " so I believe you were not wicked by nature, in what you
 " did in my case, but that all has happened according to
 " God's will, who has hereby procured our enjoyment of
 " what good things we have; and, if he continue in a fa-
 " vourable disposition, of what we hope for hereafter. Since
 " therefore I know that our father is safe and well, beyond
 " expectation; and I see you so well disposed to your bro-
 " ther, I will no longer remember what guilt you seem to
 " have had about me, but will leave off to hate you for that
 " your wickedness, and do rather return you my thanks, that
 " you have concurred with the intentions of God to bring
 " things to their present state. I would have you also rather
 " to forget the same, since that imprudence of yours is come
 " to such an happy conclusion, than to be uneasy and blush
 " at those your offences. Do not therefore let your evil
 " intentions, when you condemned me, and that bitter re-
 " morse which might follow, be a grief to you now, because
 " those intentions were frustrated. Go therefore your way,
 " rejoicing in what has happened by the divine providence,
 " and inform your father of it, lest he should be spent with
 " cares for you, and deprive me of the most agreeable part
 " of my felicity; I mean, lest he should die before he come
 " into my sight, and enjoys the good things that we now
 " have. Bring therefore with you our father, and your
 " wives, and children, and all your kindred, and remove
 " your habitation hither; for it is not proper that the per-
 " sons dearest to me should live remote from me, now my
 " affairs are so prosperous, especially when they must endure
 " five more years of famine." When Joseph had said this,
 " he embraced his brethren, who were in tears and sorrow:
 " But the generous kindness of their brother seemed to leave
 " among them no room for fear, lest they should be punished
 " on account of what they had consulted and acted against him.
 " And they were then feasting. Now the King, as soon as he
 " heard that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was exceeding
 " glad of it, as if it had been a part of his own good fortune;
 " and gave them waggons full of corn, and gold, and silver,
 " to be conveyed to his father. Now when they had re-
 " ceived more of their brother, part to be carried to their
 " father, and part as free gifts to every one of themselves,
 " Benjamin having still more than the rest, they departed.

CHAP.

The removal

1. AS f

in
 not only ef
 mourning,
 ruled over
 to his care
 he was to
 the works
 kindness
 immediate

2. Whe
 he offered
 piness the
 in love w
 moving in
 had prom
 into Egy
 might be
 depart th
 fell asleep

3. But
 name; a
 " sure, it
 " ed wi
 " helper
 " when
 " nion,
 " when
 " tained
 " and n
 " served
 " seph t
 " ment
 " so th
 " come
 " to th
 " infor
 Vol

C H A P. VII.

The removal of Joseph's father, with all his family, to him, on account of the famine.

1. **A**S soon as Jacob came to know, by his sons returning home, in what state Joseph was, that he had not only escaped death, for which yet he lived all along in mourning, but that he lived in splendour and happiness, and ruled over Egypt jointly with the King, and had intrusted to his care almost all his affairs, he did not think any thing he was told to be incredible, considering the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had, for some late times, been intermitted, so he immediately and zealously set out upon his journey to him.

2. When he came to the well of the oath, [Beersheba], he offered sacrifice to God: and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, and settle in it, and no more think of removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, lest if this descent into Egypt were made without the will of God, his family might be destroyed there; out of fear withal, lest he should depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph, he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

3. But God stood by him, and called to him twice by his name; and when he asked, who he was? God said, "No sure, it is not just that thou Jacob shouldst be unacquainted with that God who has been ever a protector and an helper to thy forefathers, and after them to thyself: For when thy father would have deprived thee of the dominion, I gave it thee; and by my kindness it was, that when thou wast sent into Mesopotamia all alone, thou obtainedst good wives, and returnedst with many children, and much wealth. Thy whole family also has been preserved by my providence; and it was I who conducted Joseph thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. Accordingly I come now as a guide to thee in this journey; and foretel to thee, that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in au-

"thority and glory, and that I will settle them in the land which I have promised them."

4. Jacob, encouraged by his dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt, with his sons, and all belonging to them. Now they were in all seventy. I once indeed thought it best not to set down the names of this family, especially because of their difficult pronunciation [by the Greeks]; but, upon the whole, I think it necessary to mention those names, that I may disprove such as believe that we came originally not out of Mesopotamia, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons, of these Joseph was come thither before. We will therefore set down the names of Jacob's children, and grand children. Reubel had four sons, Anoch, Phallu, Assaron, Charmi. Symeon had six, Jamuel, Jamin, Avod, Jachin, Soar, Saul. Levi had three sons, Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judas had three sons, Sala, Phares, Zerah; and by Phares two grand-children, Esrom, and Amur. Issachar had four sons, Thola, Phua, Jasub, Samaron. Zabulon had with him three sons, Sarad, Helon, Jalel. So far is the posterity of Leah; with whom went her daughter Dinah. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, the one of which, Joseph, had two sons also. Manasseh and Ephraim. The other Benjamin, had ten sons, Bolau, Bacchar, Asabel, Geras, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three, before enumerated, amount to the number forty seven. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had beside by Bilha, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Nephthali, which last had four sons, that followed him, Jesel, Guni, Issari, and Selim. Dan had an only begotten son, Ufi. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Aser were the sons of Zilpha, who was the handmaid of Leah. These had with them, Gad seven, Saphoniah, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, Ariel. Aser had a daughter Sarah, and six male children, whose names were Jomne, Isus, Isoui, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel. If we add these, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the fore-mentioned number [70] is completed, * Jacob not being himself included in that number.

5. When

* All the Greek copies of Josephus have the negative particle here, that Jacob himself was not reckoned one of the 70 souls that came into Egypt

5. When for Judas him of his met together at this une him, being fected in th was he not was. After he himself baite to th were come Joseph tell that he mi told him, t follow no provided f live in the also hereby the Egypt to them w hibited to

6. Whe and wishe him, how an hundre count of t that still gave him in that ci

7. How and this h caufe nei

Egypt; bu one of the phus's tru we reckon himself be

* Joseph ployment berland h shepherds Sanchonia

5. When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Heroopolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected and great joy; however, Joseph revived him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner, at the pleasure he now had, yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. After this, he desired Jacob to travel on slowly; but he himself took five of his brethren with him, and made haste to the King, to tell him that Jacob and his family were come, which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bid Joseph tell him, what sort of life his brethren loved to lead, that he might give them leave to follow the same. Who told him, they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but live in the same place, and take care of their father; as also hereby he provided, that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians; for the Egyptians are * prohibited to meddle with feeding of sheep.

6. When Jacob was come to the King, and saluted him, and wished all prosperity to his government, Pharaoh asked him, how old he now was? upon whose answer, that he was an hundred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his fore-fathers, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis; for in that city the King's shepherds had their pasturage.

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians; and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because neither did the river overflow the ground, for it did not

H 2

rise

Egypt; but the old Latin copies want it, and directly assure us he *was* one of them. 'Tis therefore hardly certain which of these was Joseph's true reading, since the number 70 is made up without him, if we reckon Leah for one; but if she be not reckoned, Jacob must himself be one, to complete the number.

* Josephus thought, that the Egyptians hated or despised the employment of a shepherd in the days of Joseph; whereas Bishop Cumberland has shewn, that they rather hated such Phenician or Canaanite shepherds that had long enslaved the Egyptians of old time. See his Sanchoniatho, p. 361, 362.

rise to its former height, nor did God * send rain upon it; nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done; but Joseph sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their cattle, and their slaves; and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food, by which means the King became the owner of all their substance; and they were removed some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly assured to the King; excepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And indeed this sore famine made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves; and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonourable means. But when this misery ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thereto belonging together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own consent, the King might have possessed alone, and alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look on it as every ones own possession; and to sell to their husbandry with cheerfulness; and to pay as a tribute to the King, the † fifth part of the fruits for the land which the King, when it was his own, restored to them. These men rejoiced upon their becoming unexpectedly owners of their lands, and diligently observed what was enjoined them. And by this means Joseph procured to himself a greater authority among the Egyptians, and greater

* Reland here puts the question, How Josephus could complain of its not raining in Egypt during this famine, while the ancients affirm that it never does naturally rain there? His answer is, That when the ancients deny that it rains in Egypt, they only mean the upper Egypt above the Delta, which is called *Egypt* in the strictest sense; but that in Delta, [and by consequence in the lower Egypt adjoining to it], it did of old, and still does rain sometimes. See the note on Antiq. B. III. ch. i. § 6.

† Josephus supposes, that Joseph now restored the Egyptians their lands again, upon the payment of a fifth part as tribute. It seems to me rather that the land was now considered as Pharaoh's land, and this fifth part as its rent, to be paid to him, as he was their landlord, and they his tenants; and that the lands were not properly restored, and this fifth part reserved as tribute only, till the days of Sesostris. See Essay on the Old Testament, append. p. 148, 149.

greater low
they shoul
tinued unt

§ I. NO

fence of h
enjoying
phetically
of Canaa
also * enl
remember
tage; na
on them
own ben
they sho
to their
with the
ever, he
bron.

fifty ye
his anco
compen
good as
carried
it, at a
willing
left, no
their f
whose
suaded
of him
them
cern f

* A
ing E
for tw
omit
be no

greater love to the King from them. Now this law, that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until their latter kings.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the death of Jacob and Joseph.

§ 1. **NOW** when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died, in the presence of his sons; but not till he made his prayers for their enjoying prosperity, and till he had foretold to them prophetically how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also *enlarged upon the praises of Joseph; how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many benefits, as seldom are bestowed on mens own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them; concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. However, he made it his request, that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full an hundred and fifty years, three only abated, having not been behind any of his ancestors in piety towards God; and having such a recompence for it, as it was fit those should have who were so good as these were. But Joseph, by the King's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it, at a great expence. Now his brethren were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid, lest, now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him, since he was now gone, for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he persuaded them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspicions of him: So he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

H 3

2. JOSEPH

* As to this *encomium* upon Joseph, as preparatory to Jacob's adopting Ephraim and Manasseh into his own family, and to be admitted for two tribes, which Josephus here mentions, all our copies of Genesis omit it, ch. xlviii. nor do we know whence he took it, or whether it be not his own embellishment only.

2. JOSEPH also died when he had lived an hundred and ten years; having been a man of admirable virtue, and conducting all his affairs by the rules of reason; and used his authority with moderation, which was the cause of his so great felicity among the Egyptians, even when he came from another country, and that in such ill circumstances also, as we have already described. At length his brethren died, after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now the posterity and sons of these men after some time carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron: But as to the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath. But what became of every one of these men, and by what toils they got the possession of the land of Canaan, shall be shewed hereafter, when I have first explained upon what account it was that they left Egypt.

CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the afflictions that beset the Hebrews in Egypt, during * four hundred years.*

§ 1. NOW it happened that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy, as to pains-taking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity: For when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue, and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having in length of time forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the crown being now come into another family, they became very abusive to the Israelites, and contrived many ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities, and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating, upon its

* As to the affliction of Abraham's posterity for 400 years, see Antiq. b. i. ch. x. § 3. And as to what cities they built in Egypt under Pharoah Sefostris, and of Pharoah Sefostris's drowning in the Red Sea, see Essay on the Old Test. append. p. 139,—162.

running over
pyramids, and
to learn all fo
selves to ha
found under t
other which
to destroy th
desiring to h
2. While
tion, there v
which made t
on. One of
foretelling
his time the
he were r
and would r
in virtue, an
all ages. V
ording to
should cast
lites, into
Egyptian
grew wome

* Of this b
izonius Orig
one or more
Only, if they
Israelites lab
Mr. Sand
+ Dr. Be
prophet of t
Jonathan na
res. Nor
oded so m
Israe ites, fr
† Joseph
raelites, as
asily to be
execute fo
therefore
And indee
the Pentat
and action
Bibles, affi
him,

running over its own banks: They set them also to* build pyramids, and by all this wore them out; and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour. And four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions; for they strove one against the other which should get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites by these labours, and the Israelites desiring to hold out to the end under them.

2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, there was this occasion offered itself to the Egyptians, which made them more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred † scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the King, that about this time there would a child be born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites: that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory that would be remembered thro' all ages. Which thing was so feared by the King, that, according to this man's opinion, he commanded that they should cast every male child, which was born to the Israelites, into the river, and destroy it: that besides this, the Egyptian midwives should watch the labours of the Hebrew women, and observe what is born, for those were the women

men

* Of this building of the pyramids of Egypt by the Israelites, see Pezizonius Orig. *Ægyptiac*, ch. xxi. 'Tis not impossible they might build one or more of the small ones, but the large ones seem much later: Only, if they be all built of stone, this does not so well agree with the Israelites labours, which are said to have been *in brick*, and not *in stone*, as Mr. Sandys observes in his *Travels*, p. 127, 128.

† Dr. Bernard informs us here, that instead of this single priest or prophet of the Egyptians, without a name in Josephus, the Targum of Jonathan names the two famous antagonists of Moses, Jannes and Jambres. Nor is it at all unlikely, that it might be one of these who foreboded so much misery to the Egyptians, and so much happiness to the Israelites, from the rearing of Moses.

‡ Josephus is clear that these midwives were Egyptians, and not Israelites, as in our other copies; which is very probable, it being not easily to be supposed, that Pharaoh could trust the Israelite midwives to execute so barbarous a command against their own nation. Consult therefore and correct hence our ordinary copies, *Exod. i. 15,—22*. And indeed, Josephus seems to have had much completer copies of the Pentateuch, or other authentic records now lost, about the birth and actions of Moses, than either our Hebrew, Samaritan, or Greek Bibles, afford us, which enabled him to be so large and particular about him.

men who were enjoined to do the office of midwives to the king, and by reason of their relation to the king, would not transgress his commands. He enjoined also, that if any parents should disobey him, and venture to spare their * male children alive, they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction indeed to those that suffered it, not only as they were deprived of their sons, and while they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to be subservient to the destruction of their own children, but as it was to be supposed to tend to the extirpation of their nation, while upon the destruction of their children, and their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very hard and inconsoleable, to them. And this was the ill state they were in. But no one can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices to that end: for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold was brought up and concealed from the observers appointed by the King; and he that foretold him, did not mistake the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following.

3. A man, whose name was Amram, one of the noblest sort of the Hebrews, was afraid for his whole nation, lest it should fail, by the want of young men to be brought up hereafter, and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, and he knew not what to do. Hereupon he betook himself to prayer to God; and intreated him to have compassion on those men who had noways transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render abortive their enemies hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair of his future favours. He said further, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favour to their forefathers, and made them increase from a few, to so great a multitude. He put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had

* Of this grandfather of Sesostris, Ramestes the great, who slew the Israelite infants and of the inscription on his obelisk, containing in my opinion one of the oldest records of mankind, see Essay on the Old Test. ap. pend. p. 139, 145, 147, 217,—220.

been made ha
his wife was a
conceive f
and to his pol
by Ketu
my assistan
els you be
ior Jacob
greatness
sons, who
ls, while y
now there
at is for y
ake thee fa
ity the Eg
struction, th
om those
brought up
ation from
his memor
not only am
all be the
le shall al
ain my pri
to the end
4. Whe
Amram av
And now
prediction
not only fo
that was t
our was
old by G
by the ear
delivery o
nourished
after that
by falling
should pe
none effe
care of t
cealment

been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterward by him enabled to conceive seed, and bare him sons. That he left to Ishmael, and to his posterity, the country of Arabia; as also to his sons by Ketura, Troglodytis; and to Isaac, Canaan. That by my assistance, said he, he did great exploits in war, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known to strangers also, by the greatness of that prosperity in which he lived, and left to his sons, who came into Egypt with no more than seventy souls, while you are now become above six hundred thousand. Now therefore that I shall provide for you all in common, that is for your good, and particularly for thyself what shall make thee famous; for that child, out of dread of whose nationality the Egyptians have doomed the Israelite children to destruction, shall be this child of thine, and shall be concealed from those who watch to destroy him: And when he is brought up, in a surprising way, he shall deliver the Hebrew nation from the distress they are under from the Egyptians. His memory shall be famous while the world lasts; and this not only among the Hebrews, but foreigners also. All which shall be the effect of my favour to thee, and to thy posterity. He shall also have such a brother, that he shall himself obtain my priesthood, and his posterity shall have it after him to the end of the world.

4. When the vision had informed him of these things, Amram awaked, and told it to Jochebed, who was his wife. And now the fear increased upon them on account of the prediction in Amram's dream; for they were under concern, not only for the child, but on account of the great happiness that was to come to him also. However, the mother's labour was such as afforded a confirmation to what was foretold by God, for it was not known to those that watched her, by the easiness of her pains, and because the throws of her delivery did not fall upon her with violence. And now they nourished the child at home privately for three months; but after that time Amram, fearing he should be discovered, and by falling under the King's displeasure, both he and his child should perish, and so he should make the promise of God of none effect, he determined rather to entrust the safety and care of the child to God, than to depend on his own concealment of him, which he looked upon as a thing uncertain, and

and whereby both the child, so privately to be nourished, and himself, should be in imminent danger; but he believed that God would some way for certain procure the safety of the child, in order to secure the truth of his own prediction. When they had thus determined, they made an ark of bulrushes, after the manner of a cradle, and of a bigness sufficient for an infant to be laid in, without being too much straitened: They then daubed it over with slime, which would naturally keep out the water from entering between the bulrushes, and put the infant into it, and setting it afloat upon the river, they left its preservation to God: so the river received the child, and carried him along. But Miriam, the child's sister, passed along upon the bank over against him, as her mother had bid her, to see whither the ark would be carried; where God demonstrated, that human wisdom was nothing, but that the Supreme Being is able to do whatsoever he pleases: that those, who, in order to their own security, condemn others to destruction, and use great endeavours about it, fail of their purpose; but that others are, in a surprising manner, preserved, and obtain a prosperous condition, almost from the very midst of their calamities, those I mean, whose dangers arise by the appointment of God. And indeed such a providence was exercised in the case of this child, as shewed the power of God.

5. Thermuthis was the King's daughter. She was now diverting herself by the banks of the river; and seeing a cradle born along by the current, she sent some that could swim, and bid them bring the cradle to her. When those that were sent on this errand came to her with the cradle, and she saw the little child, she was greatly in love with it, on account of its largeness and beauty; for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he caused him to be thought worthy of bringing up, and providing for, by all those that had taken the most fatal resolutions, on account of their dread of his nativity, for the destruction of the rest of the Hebrew nation. Thermuthis bid them bring her a woman that might afford her breast to the child; yet would not the child admit of her breast, but turned away from it, and did the like to many other women. Now Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only as staying to see the child; and she said, "It is in vain that thou, O Queen, callest for these women for the nourish-

ing

ing of the child, who are no way of kin to it ; but still, if thou wilt order one of the Hebrew women to be brought, perhaps it may admit the breast of one of its own nation." Now, since she seemed to speak well, Thermuthis bid her to procure such an one, and to bring one of those Hebrew women that gave suck. So when she had such authority given her, she came back, and brought the mother, who was known to no body there. And now the child gladly admitted the breast, and seemed to stick close to it ; and so it was, that at the Queen's desire, the nursing of the child was entirely intrusted to the mother.

6. Hereupon it was that Thermuthis imposed this name *Moses* upon him, from what had happened when he was cast into the river ; for the Egyptians call *water* by the name *Mo*, and such as are *saved out of it* by the name of *Uses* ; so by putting these two words together, they imposed this name upon him. And he was by the confession of all, according to God's prediction, as well for his greatness of mind, as for his contempt of difficulties, the best of all the Hebrews ; for Abraham was his ancestor, of the seventh generation. For Moses was the son of Amram, who was the son of Caath, whose father Levi was the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, who was the son of Abraham. Now Moses's understanding became superior to his age, nay, far beyond that standard ; and when he was taught, he discovered greater quickness of apprehension than was usual at his age, and his actions at that time promised greater, when he should come to the age of a man. God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful. And as for his beauty, there was no body so unpolite, as when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surpris'd at the beauty of his countenance : Nay, it happened frequently, that those that met him, as he was carried along the road, were obliged to turn again upon seeing the child ; that they stood what they were about, and stood still a great while to look on him, for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him, on many accounts, that it detain'd the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him.

7. Thermuthis therefore perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And when one time she had carried Moses to her father, she shewed him to him, and said, she thought to make

make him her father's successor, if it should please God he should have no legitimate child of her own; and said to him "I have brought up a child who is of a † divine form, and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in a wonderful manner, I thought proper to adopt him for my son, and the heir of thy kingdom." And when she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him and hugged him close to his breast; and, on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and in a puerile mood, bewreathed it round, and tread upon it with his feet, which seemed to bring along with it an evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this (he was the same person who foretold that his nativity would bring the dominion of that kingdom low), he made a violent attempt to kill him; and crying out in a frightful manner he said, "This, O King! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger: he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy diadem. Take him therefore out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the King was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was therefore educated with great care. So the Hebrews depended on him, and were of good hopes that great things would be done by him; but the Egyptians were suspicious of what would follow such his education. Yet because if Moses had been slain, there was no one, either a-kin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side, for pretending to the crown of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

CHAP

† What Josephus here says of the beauty of Moses; that he was of a divine form, is very like what St. Stephen says of the same beauty, that Moses was beautiful in the sight of God, Acts vii. 20.

Ha

I. MOS

age of matu
and shewed
and raising
was this:
Egyptians,
seized upon
in their rap
they had ro
some of the
manner, a
Ethiopian
that it wo
all Egypt,
mence; a
they neve
nearest pa
them, the
while not
Egyptian
their ora
this coun
assistance
that he r
when the
she deliv
would be
Vo

* This
thiopians
from Jos
" when
" genera
" when
" for hi
Irenæus,
any thin
Israelite
but was

CHAP. X.

How Moses made war with the Ethiopians.

MOSES therefore, when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the Egyptians; and shewed, that he was born for the bringing them down, and raising the Israelites. And the occasion he laid hold of was this: The Ethiopians, who are next neighbours to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them; but being overcome in battle, some of them were slain, and the rest ran away in a shameful manner, and by that means saved themselves, whereupon the Ethiopians followed after them in the pursuit, and thinking that it would be a mark of cowardice if they did not subdue all Egypt, they went on to subdue the rest with greater vehemence; and when they had tasted the sweets of the country, they never left off the prosecution of the war: And as the nearest parts had not courage enough at first to fight with them, they proceeded as far as Memphis, and the sea itself, while not one of the cities were able to oppose them. The Egyptians, under this sad oppression, betook themselves to their oracles and prophecies; and when God had given them this counsel, to make use of Moses the Hebrew, and take his assistance, the King commanded his daughter to produce him, that he might be the * general of their army. Upon which, when she had made him swear he would do him no harm, she delivered him to the King, and supposed his assistance would be of great advantage to them. She withal reproach-

VOL. I.

I

ed

* This history of Moses, as general of the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, is wholly omitted in our Bibles, but is thus cited by Irenæus, from Josephus, and that soon after his own age: "Josephus says, that "when Moses was nourished in the King's palace, he was appointed general of the army against the Ethiopians, and conquered them, "when he married that King's daughter, because, out of her affection "for him, she delivered the city up to him." See the Fragments of Irenæus, *ap. edit. Grab.* p. 472. Nor perhaps did St. Stephen refer to any thing else, when he said of Moses, before he was sent by God to the Israelites, that he was not only *learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*, but was also *mighty in words and in deeds*, Acts vii. 22.

ed the priest, who. when they had before admonished the Egyptians to kill him, was not ashamed now to own their want of his help.

2. So Moses, at the persuasion both of Thermuthis, and the King himself, cheerfully undertook the business: And the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians, that they should at once overcome their enemies by his valour, and that by the same piece of management Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general. But Moses prevented the enemies, and took and led his army before those enemies were apprized of his attacking them; for he did not march by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful demonstration of his sagacity: For when the ground was difficult to be passed over, because of the multitude of serpents, which it produces in vast numbers, and indeed is singular in some of those productions, which other countries do not breed, and yet such as are worse than others in power and mischief, and an unusual fierceness of sight, some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men at unawares, and do them a mischief, Moses invented a wonderful stratagem to preserve the army safe, and without hurt; for he made baskets, like unto arks of sedge, and filled them with * ibes, and carried them along with them; which animal is the greatest enemy to serpents imaginable, for they fly from them when they come near them and as they fly they are caught and devoured by them, as if it were done by the harts; but the ibes are tame creatures, and only enemies to the serpentine kind. But about these ibes I say no more at present, since the Greeks are not themselves unacquainted with this sort of bird. As soon therefore as Moses was come to the land which was the breeder of these serpents, he let loose the ibes, and by their means repelled the serpentine kind, and used them for his assistants before the army came upon that ground. When he had therefore proceeded thus on his journey, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him; and joining battle with them, he

beat

* Pliny speaks of these birds called *Ibes*, and says, "The Egyptians invoked them against the serpents," Hist. Nat. B. X. ch. 28, Strabo speaks of this island *Meroe*, and these rivers *Astapus* and *Astaberus*, Book XVI. p. 771, 786. and B. XVII. p. 821.

beat them a
cess against
cities, and i
Now when
iperous suc
their dilige
ger of bein
And at lea
of Ethiop
the name o
very great
quite roun
it a very d
for the ci
after the r
wall, and
and havi
inasmuch
lence it c
to imposs
take the
army's l
tle), thi
the Kin
he led th
rage, an
lieving
they ha
be the
when t
the fell
that p
to disc
accept
vering
to tak
session
gone
ly; a
thank
Egy

beat them and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and went on in overthrowing their cities, and indeed made a great slaughter of these Ethiopians. Now when the Egyptian army had once tasted of this prosperous success, by the means of Moses, they did not slaken their diligence, insomuch, that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and all sorts of destruction. And at length they retired to Saba, which was a royal city of Ethiopia, which Cambyfes afterward named *Meroe*, after the name of his own sister. The place was to be besieged with very great difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers Astapus and Astaborus made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them; for the city was situate in a retired place, and was inhabited after the manner of an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to guard them from their enemies, and having great ramparts between the wall and the rivers, insomuch, that when the waters came with the greatest violence it can never be drowned; which ramparts make it next to impossible for, even such as are gotten over the rivers, to take the city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle, (for the enemies durst not come to a battle), this accident happened: Tharbis was the daughter of the King of the Ethiopians; she happened to see Moses, as he led the army near to the walls, and fought with great courage, and admiring the subtilty of his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptians success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and to be the occasion of the great danger the Ethiopians were in, when they had before boasted of their great achievements, she fell deeply in love with him; and upon the prevalency of that passion, sent to him the most faithful of all her servants to discourse with him upon their marriage. He thereupon accepted the offer, on condition she would procure the delivering up of the city; and gave her the assurance of an oath to take her to his wife, and that when he had once taken possession of the city, he would not break his oath to her. No sooner was the agreement made, but it took effect immediately; and when Moses had cut off the Ethiopians, he gave thanks to God, and consummated his marriage, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

C H A P. XI.

How Moses fled out of Egypt unto Midian.

§ 1. **N**OW the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained an hatred to him, and were very eager in compassing their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion, from his good success, to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt; and told the King, he ought to be slain. The King had also some intentions of himself to the same purpose, and this as well out of envy at his glorious expedition at the head of his army, as out of fear of being brought low by him; and, being instigated by the sacred scribes, he was ready to undertake to kill Moses. But when he had learned before hand what plots there were against him, he went away privately; and because the public roads were watched, he took his flight through the deserts, and where his enemies could not suspect he would travel; and though he was destitute of food, he went on, and despised that difficulty courageously. And when he came to the city Midian, which lay upon the Red Sea, and was so denominated from one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, he sat upon a certain well, and rested himself there after his laborious journey, and the affliction he had been in. It was not far from the city; and the time of the day was noon, where he had an occasion offered him, by the custom of the country, of doing what recommended his virtue, and afforded him an opportunity of bettering his circumstances.

2. For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to seize on the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water; and lest it should be spent by others before they came. There were now come therefore to this well seven sisters, that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honour: these virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary, and very familiar for women to do in the country of the Troglodytes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for their flocks, into troughs, which were made for the reception of that water. But when the shepherds came upon the maidens, and drove them away, that they might have the command of the waters themselves, Mo-

ses,

ses, thinking overlooked t should suffer of the maid more than th women; wh him, came t affronted by treated that vain, nor g from his dau benefactor, he might b came, he to that he ha his virtue, ance on p were both to exceed on, and g pointed h cattle, for cattle.

Con

§ 1. **N** flayed t taking h flocks th the mo herbage upon, b the the that a upon a contin fruit b ses wa he wa

ses, thinking it would be a terrible reproach upon him if he overlooked the young women under unjust oppression, and should suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, he drove away the men, who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded a proper assistance to the women; who, when they had received such a benefit from him, came to their father, and told him how they had been affronted by the shepherds, and assisted by a stranger, and intreated that he would not let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor, and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bare to him, that he had assisted them; and that, as he admired him for his virtue, he said, that Moses had bestowed such his assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the guardian and superintendent over his cattle, for of old all the wealth of the Barbarians was in those cattle.

C H A P. XII.

Concerning the burning bush, and the rod of Moses.

§ 1. NOW Moses, when he had obtained the favour of Jethro, for that was one of the names of Raguel, stayed there, and fed his flock; but some time afterward, taking his station at the mountain called *Sinai*, he drove his flocks thither to feed them. Now this is the highest of all the mountains thereabouts, and the best for pasturage, the herbage being there good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it. And here it was that a wonderful prodigy happened to Moses; for a fire fed upon a thorn-bush; yet did the green leaves and the flowers continue untouched, and the fire did not at all consume the fruit branches, although the flame was great and fierce. Moses was affrighted at this strange sight, as it was to him; but he was still more astonished when the fire uttered a voice, and

called to him by name, and spake words to him, by which it signified to him how bold he had been in venturing to come into a place whither no man had ever come before, because the place was divine; and advised him to remove a great way from the flame, and to be contented with what he had seen; and though he were himself a good man, and the offspring of great men, yet that he should not pry any farther: and he foretold to him, that he should have glory and honour among men, by the blessing of God upon him. He also commanded him to go away thence with confidence to Egypt, in order to his being the commander and conductor of the body of the Hebrews, and to his delivering his own people from the injuries they suffered there: "For, said God, they shall inhabit this happy land which your forefather Abraham inhabited, and shall have the enjoyment of all sorts of good things; and thou, by thy prudence, shalt guide them to those good things." But still he enjoined him, when he had brought the Hebrews out of the land of Egypt, to come to that place, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving there. Such were the divine oracles which were delivered out of the fire.

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be an instance of too great madness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear to thee, to distrust thy power, since I myself adore it, and know that it has been made manifest to my progenitors: But I am still in doubt how I, who am a private man, and one of no abilities, should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I lead them; or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they augment their own wealth and prosperity by the labours and works they put upon them."

3. But God persuaded him to be courageous on all occasions, and promised to be with him, and to assist him in his words, when he was to persuade men, and in his deeds, when he was to perform wonders. He bid him also to take a signal of the truth of what he said, by throwing his rod upon the ground; which, when he had done, it crept along, and was become a serpent, and rolled itself round in its folds, and erected its head, as ready to revenge itself on such as should assault it, after which it became a rod again as it was before.

before. As to his bosom white, and its wont took some on the ground the wonder him to be the great those signs art sent by According make hast to draw out brews, and

4. Moses assured him room left him that him to vo since he h his name, y, such h red to him to men b to say an then only which fig bush; an to him, and bring

* This which of to have heard of nouncing day, (the does not the ten c § 4. whi the Babl ments w very wi

before. After this God bid Moses to put his right hand into his bosom; he obeyed, and when he took it out it was white, and in colour like to chalk, but afterward it returned to its wonted colour again. He also, upon God's command, took some of the water that was near him, and poured it upon the ground, and saw the colour was that of blood. Upon the wonder that Moses shewed at these signs, God exhorted him to be of good courage, and to be assured that he would be the greatest support to him; and bid him make use of those signs in order to obtain belief among all men, that thou art sent by me, and dost all things according to my commands. Accordingly I enjoin thee to make no more delays, but to make hast to Egypt, and to travel night and day, and not to draw out the time, and so make the slavery of the Hebrews, and their sufferings, to last the longer.

4. Moses having now seen and heard these wonders, that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, had no room left him to disbelieve them, he entreated him to grant him that power when he should be in Egypt; and besought him to vouchsafe him the knowledge of his own name, and since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, that when he offered sacrifice he might invoke him by such his name in his oblations. Whereupon God declared to him his holy name, which had never been discovered to men before; concerning which it is * not lawful for me to say any more. Now these signs accompanied Moses, not then only, but always, when he prayed for them: Of all which signs he attributed the firmest assent to the fire in the bush; and believing that God would be a gracious supporter to him, he hoped he should be able to deliver his own nation, and bring calamities on the Egyptians.

C H A P.

* This superstitious fear of discovering the *name with four letters*, which of late we have been used falsely to pronounce *Jehovah*, but seems to have been originally pronounced *Jaboh*, or *Jao*, is never, I think, heard of till this passage of Josephus; and this superstition, in not pronouncing that name, has continued among the Rabbinical Jews to this day, (though whether the Samaritans and Caraites observed it so early does not appear). Josephus also durst not set down the very words of the ten commandments, as we shall see hereafter, Antiq. B. III. ch. v. § 4. which superstitious silence, has yet not been continued even by the Rabbins. It is however no doubt, but both these cautious concealments were taught Josephus by the Pharisees, a body of men at once very wicked, and very superstitious.

C H A P. XIII.

How Moses and Aaron returned into Egypt to Pharaoh.

§ 1. SO Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he fled away, was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt; for the benefit of his own people. And he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the children he had by her, Gersom and Eleazar, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of those names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies, that he was in a *strange land*; and Eleazar, that, by the *assistance of the God of his fathers*, he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had befallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews having learned that they were coming, met them: to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them. So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and hoped well of their entire deliverance, as believing now that God took care of their preservation.

2. Since then Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the King, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done for the good of the Egyptians, when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had laboured for them, as if they had been his own people; and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper returns made him, as he had deserved. He also informed him distinctly, what things happened to him at mount Sinai; and what God said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

5. But when the King derided Moses, he made him in earnest see the signs that were done at mount Sinai. Yet was the

the King very
who had form
came now b
ical arts, to
commanded t
ights, as know
learning, a
them, and pr
that when he
ould only b
riests threw
Moses was n
myself def
that what
magic arts
of man:
done by cr
but that th
And when h
round, and
beyed him,
he Egyptian
consumed th
Moses took i
4. Howev
as done, t
That he
shrewdnes
him that was
them no rela
submit to gr
owed them
ould allow
ard at bric
the night.
them, they
and their m
them. But
threatening
Hebrews co
ool resolute
gence to p

the King very angry with him, and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tricks, and wonders, and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights, as knowing that the Egyptians were skilful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended them to be divine; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said, "O King, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say, that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as divine power exceeds the power of man: But I will demonstrate, that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all: It then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

4. However, the King was no more moved, when this was done, than before; and being very angry, he said, That he should gain nothing by this his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians." And he commanded him that was the chief task-master over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before. And though he allowed them chaff before for the making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer; but he made them to work hard at brick-making in the day time, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labour was thus doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labour and their misery were on his account become more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the King's threatenings; nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews complaints, but he supported himself, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to
the

C H A P. XIII.

How Moses and Aaron returned into Egypt to Pharaoh.

§ 1. SO Moses, when he understood that the Pharaoh, in whose reign he fled away, was dead, asked leave of Raguel to go to Egypt; for the benefit of his own people. And he took with him Zipporah, the daughter of Raguel, whom he had married, and the children he had by her, Gersom and Eleazar, and made haste into Egypt. Now the former of those names, Gersom, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies, that he was in a *strange land*; and Eleazar, that, by the *assistance of the God of his fathers*, he had escaped from the Egyptians. Now when they were near the borders, Aaron his brother, by the command of God, met him, to whom he declared what had befallen him at the mountain, and the commands that God had given him. But as they were going forward, the chief men among the Hebrews having learned that they were coming; met them: to whom Moses declared the signs he had seen; and while they could not believe them, he made them see them. So they took courage at these surprising and unexpected sights, and hoped well of their entire deliverance, as believing now that God took care of their preservation.

2. Since then Moses found that the Hebrews would be obedient to whatsoever he should direct, as they promised to be, and were in love with liberty, he came to the King, who had indeed but lately received the government, and told him how much he had done for the good of the Egyptians, when they were despised by the Ethiopians, and their country laid waste by them; and how he had been the commander of their forces, and had laboured for them, as if they had been his own people; and he informed him in what danger he had been during that expedition, without having any proper returns made him, as he had deserved. He also informed him distinctly, what things happened to him at mount Sinai; and what God said to him; and the signs that were done by God, in order to assure him of the authority of those commands which he had given him. He also exhorted him not to disbelieve what he told him, nor to oppose the will of God.

5. But when the King derided Moses, he made him in earnest see the signs that were done at mount Sinai. Yet was the

the King very
who had form
ame now b
ical arts, to
commanded t
hts, as know
learning, a
them, and pr
that when he
ould only b
sists threw
Moses was n
myself def
that what
magic arts
of man: I
done by cr
but that th
and when h
round, and
beyed him,
he Egyptian
consumed th
Moses took i

4. Howev
as done, t
That he
shrewdnes
im that was
them no rela
submit to gr
owed them
ould allow
ard at bric
he night.
them, they
and their m
them. But
threatening
Hebrews co
bol resolute
igence to p

the King very angry with him, and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tricks, and wonders, and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights, as knowing that the Egyptians were skilful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them; and pretended them to be divine; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said, "O King, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say, that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as divine power exceeds the power of man: But I will demonstrate, that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all: It then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

4. However, the King was no more moved, when this was done, than before; and being very angry, he said, "That he should gain nothing by this his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians." And he commanded him that was the chief task-master over the Hebrews, to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than before. And though he allowed them chaff before for the making their bricks, he would allow it them no longer; but he made them to work hard at brick-making in the day time, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labour was thus doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their labour and their misery were on his account become more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the King's threatenings; nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the Hebrews complaints, but he supported himself, and set his soul resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to
the

the King, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also, not to counter-work the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he was aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable any one that counter-worked the divine commands should undergo, since the severest afflictions arise from every object to those that provoke the divine wrath against them; for such as these have neither the earth, nor the air for their friends; nor are the fruits of the womb according to nature, but every thing is unfriendly and adverse towards them. He said farther, that the Egyptians should know this by sad experience; and that besides, the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

C H A P. XIV.

Concerning the ten plagues which came upon the Egyptians.

§ 1. **BUT** when the King despised the words of Moses and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians, every one of which I will describe both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt; and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them, and because it is for the good of mankind that they may learn this caution, not to do any thing that may displease God, lest he be provoked to wrath, and avenge their iniquities upon men. The Egyptian river ran with blood and water, at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other spring of water neither for the water was not only of the colour of blood, but it brought upon those that ventured to drink of it great pains and bitter torment. Such was the river to the Egyptians, but it was sweet and fit for drinking to the Hebrews, and in a way different from what it naturally used to be. As the King therefore knew not what to do in these surprising circumstances, and was in fear for the Egyptians, he gave the Hebrews leave to go away; but when the plague ceased, he changed his mind again, and would not suffer them to go.

2. But when the ceasing of the other plagues made of frogs was also full of it and it spoiled and were destroyed filthy slime also spoiled the were found and came in great ingratitude from. and as were under the Moses to take which the whole both the land but as soon as he forgot the as though he judgments, he depart, having out of any good. 3. According to the plague, added bodies of the which, wicked able to destroy with ointment Egypt was in himself, lest manner of the ed in part the ounder mind to depart. E proper to wives behind provoked G

* Of this wicked men, wilful sins, to 6. vol. II.

2. But

2. But when God saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of the calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians : an innumerable multitude of frogs consumed the fruit of the ground ; the river was also full of them, insomuch that those who drew water had it spoiled by the blood of these animals, as they died in, and were destroyed by the water ; and the country was full of filthy slime, as they were born, and as they died : they also spoiled their vessels in their houses which they used, and were found among what they eat, and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful smell and stink arose from them, as they were born, and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppression of these miseries, the King ordered Moses to take the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away ; and both the land and the river returned to their former natures, but as soon as Pharaoh saw the land freed from this plague, he forgot the cause of it, and retained the Hebrews ; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having granted that liberty rather out of fear, than out of any good consideration.

3. Accordingly God punished his falseness with another plague, added to the former : for there arose, out of the bodies of the Egyptians, an innumerable quantity of lice, by which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin, either with washes, or with ointments. At which terrible judgment, the King of Egypt was in disorder, upon the fear into which he reasoned himself, lest his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of this death was also reproachful, so that he was forced in part to recover himself from his wicked temper to a sounder mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he thought it proper to require, that they should leave their children and wives behind them, as pledges of their return ; whereby he provoked God to be more vehemently angry at him, as if he thought

* Of this judicial hardening the hearts, and blinding the eyes of wicked men, or insatiating them, as a just punishment for their other wilful sins, to their own destruction, see the note on Antiq. B. VII. ch. 9. § 6. vol. II.

thought to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished the Egyptians for the sake of the Hebrews: for he filled that country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was destitute of husbandmen for its cultivation; but nothing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men underwent also.

4. But when Pharaoh did not even then yield to the will of God; but while he gave leave to the husbands to take their wives with them, yet insisted that the children should be left behind, God presently resolved to punish his wickedness with several sorts of calamities, and those worse than the foregoing, which yet had so generally afflicted them: for their bodies had terrible boils, breaking forth with blains while they were already inwardly consumed; and a great part of the Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the King was not brought to reason by this plague, hail was sent down from heaven; and such hail it was, as the climate of Egypt had never suffered before, nor was it like to that which falls in other climates in * winter time, but larger than that which falls in the middle of spring to those that dwell in the northern and northwestern regions. This hail broke down their boughs laden with fruit. After this a tribe of locusts consumed the seed which was not hurt by the hail, so that to the Egyptians all the hopes of future fruits of the ground were entirely lost.

5. One would think the fore-mentioned calamities might have been sufficient for one that was only foolish, without wickedness, to make him wise, and to make him sensible what was for his advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly, as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his miseries, he still contested with God, and wilfully deserted the cause of virtue: So he bid Moses take the Hebrews away, with their wives and children, but to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said, that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle: and the

* As to this winter or spring hail near Egypt and Judea, see the like on thunder and lightning there, in the note on Antiq. B. VI. ch. v. § vol. II.

time being p
but the least
their sight be
the thicknes
terror lest th
Besides this,
many nights
repent, and
said, " How
of God? I
is there an
you are u
angry at wh
he came any
upon Moses
them, for th
among the I
So when M
6. But w
plague he w
go, he comm
have a sacrific
on the tent
teenth, (wh
and *Nisan*
Xanthicus),
with all the
ready for th
tribes, he k
fourteenth
offered the
using bunch
slapped, the
to depart.
in like man
which signi
God *passed*
for the des
that night,
the King's
According
supposing,
Vol. I.

time being prolonged on this account, a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after three days, and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repent, and let the Hebrews go, Moses came to him, and said, "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities you are under, unless you do so." But the King was angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head if he came any more to trouble him about these matters. Hereupon Moses said, he would not speak to him any more about them, for that he himself, together with the principal men among the Egyptians, should desire the Hebrews to go away. So when Moses had said this, he went his way.

6. But when God had signified, that with one more plague he would compel the Egyptians to let the Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people, that they should have a sacrifice ready, and that they should prepare themselves on the tenth day of the month Xanthicus, against the fourteenth, (which month is called by the Egyptians *Pharmuthi*, and *Nisan* by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it *Xanthicus*), and that he should carry away the Hebrews, with all they had. Accordingly, he having got the Hebrews ready for their departure, and having sorted the people into tribes, he kept them together in one place: But when the fourteenth day was come, and all were ready to depart, they offered the sacrifice, and purified their houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop for that purpose; and when they had supped, they burnt the remainder of the flesh, as just ready to depart. Whence it is, that we do still offer this sacrifice, in like manner, to this day, and call this festival *Pascha*, which signifies the feast of the passover, because on that day God *passed us over*, and sent the plague upon the Egyptians: for the destruction of the first-born came upon the Egyptians that night, so that many of the Egyptians, which lived near the King's palace, persuaded Pharaoh to let the Hebrews go. Accordingly he called for Moses, and bid them be gone, as supposing, that if once the Hebrews were gone out of the

VOL. I. K country,

country, Egypt should be freed from its miseries. They also honoured the Hebrews with † gifts; some in order to get them to depart quickly, and others on account of their neighbourhood, and the friendship they had with them.

CH A P. XV.

How the Hebrews, under the conduct of Moses, left Egypt.

§ 1. SO the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so hardly. Now they took their journey by Letopolis, a place at that time deserted, but where Babylon was built afterward, when Cambyfes laid Egypt waste: But as they went away hastily, on the third day they came to a place called *Baalzephon*, on the Red Sea; and when they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they eat of loaves, kneaded of flour, only warmed by a gentle heat; and this food they made use of for thirty days; for what they brought with them out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and this only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much only as would serve for necessity, but not for satiety. Whence it is, that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, which is called the *feast of unleavened bread*. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including the women and children, was not easy to be numbered; but those that were of an age fit for war, were six hundred thousand.

2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthius, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month; four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but two

† These large presents made to the Israelites, of *vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment*, were, as Josephus truly calls them, *gifts* really given them, not *lent* them, as our English falsely renders them. They were *spoils required*, not *borrowed* of them, Gen. xv. 14. Exod. iii. 22. xi. 2. Psal. cv. 37. as the same version falsely renders the Hebrew word here used, Exod. xii. 35, 36. God had ordered the Jews to demand these as their pay and reward, during their long and bitter slavery in Egypt, as atonements for the lives of the Egyptians, and as the condition of the Jews departure, and of the Egyptian deliverance from these terrible judgments, which, had they not now ceased, *they had soon been all dead men*, as they themselves confess, ch. xii. 33. Nor was there any sense in *borrowing or lending*, when the Israelites were finally departing out of the land for ever.

* two hundred to Egypt.

and of that bones of Jo

3. But t

were gone

this had be

resolved to

pons, and c

in order to

because the

gainst them

And they

had no arm

they made

met, which

difficult to

persons. N

the Egypti

them, they

and of the

As also he

who had q

by all mea

their count

that Moses

land of the

go through

ter many a

naan. An

ed him to

might offer

overtaken

their multi

number th

* Why ou

Exod. xii. 40

Israelites in

elsewhere, a

Septuagint,

time; and t

was in the l

See Essay on

* two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and of that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the bones of Joseph with them, as he had charged his sons to do.

3. But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the King also was mightily concerned that this had been procured by the magic arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons, and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overtook them, because they would now have no pretence to pray to God against them, since they had already been permitted to go out: And they thought they should easily overcome them, as they had no armour, and would be weary with their journey; so they made haste in their pursuit, and asked of every one they met, which way they were gone? And indeed that land was difficult to be travelled over, not only by armies, but by single persons. Now Moses led the Hebrews this way, that in case the Egyptians should repent, and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also he led them this way on account of the Philistines, who had quarrelled with them, and hated them of old, that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt; and thence it was that Moses led them not along the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so, after a long journey, and after many afflictions, they might enter upon the land of Canaan. Another reason of this was, that God had commanded him to bring the people to mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared to fight them, and by their multitude they drove them into a narrow place; for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots,

K 2

with

* Why our Masorete copy so groundlessly abridges this account in Exod. xii. 40. as to ascribe 430 years to the sole peregrination of the Israelites in Egypt, when it is clear, even by that Masorete chronology elsewhere, as well as from the express text itself in the Samaritan, Septuagint, and Josephus, that they sojourned in Egypt but *half* that time; and that by consequence the other half of their peregrination was in the land of Canaan, before they came into Egypt, is hard to say. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 62, 63.

with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand footmen, all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they imagined the Hebrews might fly, shutting them up * between inaccessible precipices, and the sea; for there was [on each side] a [ridge of] mountains, that terminated at the sea, which were impassable, by reason of their roughness, and obstructed their flight; wherefore they there pressed upon the Hebrews with their army, where the [ridges of] the mountains were closed with the sea, which army they placed at the chops of the mountains, that so they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

4. When the Hebrews therefore were neither able to bear up, being thus, as it were, besieged, because they wanted provisions, nor saw any possible way of escaping; and if they should have thought of fighting, they had no weapons, they expected an universal destruction, unless they delivered themselves up voluntarily to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and thus so far, that their incredulity prompted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them, and promised them deliverance; and they resolved that they would deliver them-

selves

* Take the main part of Reland's excellent note here, which greatly illustrates Josephus, and the scripture, in this history, as follows: "[A traveller, says Reland, whose name was] Eneman, when he returned out of Egypt, told me, that he went the same way from Egypt to mount Sinai, which he supposed the Israelites of old travelled; and that he found several mountainous tracts, that ran down towards the Red Sea. He thought the Israelites had proceeded as far as the desert of Etham, (Exod. xiii. 20.) when they were commanded by God to return back, (Exod. xiv. 2.) and to pitch their camp between Migdol and the sea; and that when they were not able to fly, unless by the sea, they were shut in on each side by mountains. He also thought we might evidently learn hence, how it might be said, that the Israelites were in Etham before they went over the sea, and yet might be said to have come into Etham after they had passed over the sea also. Besides, he gave an account how he passed over a river in a boat near the city Sues, which he says must needs be the Heropolis of the ancients, since that city could not be situate any where else in that neighbourhood."

As to the famous passage produced here by Dr. Bernard out of Herodotus, as the most ancient heathen testimony of the Israelites coming from the Red Sea into Palestine, Bishop Cumberland has shewed, that it belongs to the old Canaanite or Phœnician shepherds, and their retiring out of Egypt into Canaan or Phœnicia, long before the days of Moses. Sanchoniatho, p. 374, &c.

themselves up to the Egyptians. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who had nothing but destruction before their eyes, while they were encompassed with mountains, the sea, and their enemies, and discerned no way of flying from them.

5. But Moses, though the multitude looked fiercely at him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despised all dangers. out of his trust in God, who as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, he would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made slaves, or be slain by them. And standing in the midst of them, he said, "It is not just for us to distrust even men, when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same men hereafter; but it is no better than madness, at this time, to despair of the providence of God, by whose power all those things have been performed, which he promised, when you expected no such things: I mean all that I have been concerned in for your deliverance, and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we now are, we ought the rather to hope that God will succour us, by whose operation it is that we are now encompassed within this narrow place, that he may deliver us out of such difficulties as are otherwise unsurmountable, and out of which neither you, nor your enemies, expect you can be delivered, and may at once demonstrate his own power, and his providence over us. Nor does God use to give his help in small difficulties to those whom he favours, but in such cases where no one can see how any hope in man can better their condition. Depend therefore upon such a protector, as is able to make small things great, and to shew that this mighty force against you is nothing but weakness, and be not affrighted at the Egyptian army; nor do you despair of being preserved, because the sea before, and the mountains behind, afford you no opportunity for flying, for even these mountains, if God so please, may be made plain ground for you, and the sea become dry land."

C H A P. XVI.

How the sea was divided asunder for the Hebrews, when they were pursued by the Egyptians, and so gave them an opportunity of escaping from them.

§ 1. **W**HEN Moses had said this, he led them to the sea, while the Egyptians looked on, for they were within sight. Now these were so distressed by the toil of their pursuit, that they thought proper to put off fighting till the next day. But when Moses was come to the sea-shore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their helper and assistant; and said, "Thou art not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength, and human contrivance, to avoid the difficulties we are now under, but it must be thy work altogether to procure deliverance to this army, which has left Egypt at thy appointment. We despair of any other assistance or contrivance, and have recourse only to that hope we have in thee; and if there be any method that can promise us an escape, by thy providence, we look up to thee for it. And let it come quickly, and manifest thy power to us: and do thou raise up this people unto good courage and hope of deliverance, who are deeply sunk into a disconsolate state of mind. We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that thou possessest; but still the sea is thine, the mountains that inclose us are thine; so that these mountains will open themselves, if thou commandest them, and the sea also, if thou commandest it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air, if thou shouldest determine we should have that way of salvation."

2. **W**HEN Moses had thus addressed himself to God, he smote the sea with his rod, which parted asunder at the stroke, and receiving those waters into itself, left the ground dry, as a road and a place of flight for the Hebrews. Now when Moses saw this appearance of God, and that the sea went out of its own place, and left dry land, he went first of all into it, and bid the Hebrews to follow him along that divine road, and to rejoice at the danger their enemies that followed them were in; and gave thanks to God for this so surprising a deliverance which appeared from him.

3. Now w
carnately, as
ans supposed
going rashly
that they we
no obstacle
to pursue th
also. They
elves into t
putting on
were before
over to the l
the others w
them, as ho
the Egyptia
made for t
was made fo
those that v
struction.
army was v
came down
encompassed
from the sk
flashes of fir
Nor was th
on men, as
at this time
And thus c
man left to
Egyptians.

4. But t
for joy at
their enem
wered, whe
were destro
dently for
escaped the
sides that,

* Of these
of Pharaoh's
extant in tha
here, see Ess

3. Now

3. Now while these Hebrews made no stay, but went on earnestly, as led by God's presence with them, the Egyptians supposed, at first, that they were distracted, and were going rashly upon manifest destruction. But when they saw that they were gone a great way without any harm, and that no obstacle or difficulty fell in their journey, they made haste to pursue them, hoping that the sea would be calm for them also. They put their horse foremost, and went down themselves into the sea. Now the Hebrews, while these were putting on their armour, and therein spending their time, were before-hand with them, and escaped them, and got first over to the land on the other side without any hurt. Whence the others were encouraged, and more courageously pursued them, as hoping no harm would come to them neither: but the Egyptians were not aware that they went into a road made for the Hebrews, and not for others; that this road was made for the deliverance of those in danger, but not for those that were earnest to make use of it for the others destruction. As soon therefore as ever the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed to its own place, and came down with a torrent raised by * storms of wind, and encompassed the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders, and lightning, with flashes of fire. Thunder-bolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there any thing which uses to be sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time,* for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians.

4. But the Hebrews were not able to contain themselves for joy at their wonderful deliverance, and destruction of their enemies; now indeed supposing themselves firmly delivered, when those that would have forced them into slavery were destroyed, and when they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And now these Hebrews having escaped the danger they were in, after this manner; and besides that, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never

* Of these storms of wind, thunder, and lightning, at this drowning of Pharaoh's army, almost wanting in our copies of Exodus, but fully extant in that of David, Psal. lxxvii. 19, 17, 18, and in that of Josephus here, see Essay on the Old Test. append. p. 154, 155.

never recorded of any other men whomsoever, were all the night employed in singing of hymns, and in mirth. * Moses also composed a song unto God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kindness, in † Hexameter verse.

5. As for myself, I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the sacred books: Nor let any one ‡ wonder at the strangeness of the narration, if a way were discovered

* What some have here objected against this passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, in *this one night*, from the common maps, viz. that this sea being here about 30 miles broad, so great an army could not pass over it in so short a time, is a great mistake. Mons. Thevenot, an authentic eye-witness, informs us, that this sea, for about five days journey, is no where more than about eight or nine miles over-crofs, and in one place but four or five miles, according to De Lisle's map, which is made from the best travellers themselves, and not copied from others. What has been farther objected against this passage of the Israelites, and drowning of the Egyptians, being miraculous also, viz. That Moses might carry the Israelites over at a *low tide*, without any miracle, while yet the Egyptians, not knowing the tide so well as he, might be drowned upon the *return* of the tide, is a strange story indeed! That Moses, who never had lived here, should know the quantity and time of the flux and reflux of the Red Sea, better than the Egyptians themselves, in its neighbourhood! yet does Artapanus, an ancient heathen historian, inform us, that this was what the more ignorant Menophites, who lived at a great distance, pretended; though he confesses, that the more learned Heliopolitans, who lived much nearer, owned the destruction of the Egyptians and the deliverance of the Israelites, to have been miraculous. And de Castro, a mathematician, who surveyed this sea with great exactness, informs us, that there is no great flux or reflux in this part of the Red Sea to give a colour to this hypothesis; nay, that the elevation of the tide there is little above half the height of a man. See Essay on the Old Testament, append. p. 239, 240. So vain and groundless are these and the like evasions and subterfuges of our modern sceptics and believers! and so certainly do thorough inquiries, and authentic evidence, disprove and confute such evasions and subterfuges upon all occasions.

† What that *Hexameter verse*, in which Moses' triumphant song is here said to be written, distinctly means, our present ignorance of the old Hebrew metre or measure, will not let us determine. Nor does it appear to me certain, that even Josephus himself had a distinct notion of it, though he speaks of several sorts of that metre, or measure, both here and elsewhere, Antiq. B. IV. ch. viii. § 44. and B. VII. ch. xii. § 3. vol. I.

‡ Take here the original passages of the four old authors that still remains, as to this transit of Alexander the Great over the Pamphylian sea, I mean of Callisthenes, Strabo, Arian, and Appian.—As to Callisthenes, who himself accompanied Alexander in this expedition, Eustathius, in his notes upon the third Iliad of Homer, (as Dr. Bernard here informs us) says, That "this Callisthenes wrote, how the

CHAP. XVI.

discovered to
wickedness
will of God
while, for t
King of Ma

the Pamphy
by rising an
Strabo's accou
that narrow
army. Th
of Pamphy
weather is
overflows,
the ascent b
weather, th
fell into the
he marched
were a wh
the navel.
under reme
mountains
cult way in
were with
time than
there is no
winds, a n
dence, (as
ed him an
far and Alex
they both
their skill
over a cou
[Jupiter]
when, by
straining
velled [ov
N. B. Sin
numerous o
set down, a
phylian sea,
monarchy,
it is withou
late writers
Nor can the
phus, be in
all the evid
fort also:
there is her
would rath

discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wickedness of the modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord; while, for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, King of Macedonia, who yet lived, comparatively, but a little

the Pamphylian sea did not only open a passage for Alexander, but by rising and elevating its waters did pay him homage as its King."—Arabo's account is this, Geog. B. XIV. p. 666. "Now about Phaselis is that narrow passage, by the sea-side, through which Alexander led his army. There is a mountain called *Climax*, which adjoins to the sea of Pamphylia, leaving a narrow passage on the shore, which in calm weather is bare, so as to be passable by travellers, but when the sea overflows, it is covered to a great degree by the waves. Now then, the ascent by the mountains being round about, and steep, in still-weather, they make use of the road along the coast: But Alexander fell into the winter season, and permitting himself chiefly to fortune, he marched on before the waves retired, and so it happened that they were a whole day in journeying over it, and were under water up to the navel."—Arian's account is this, B. I. p. 72, 73. "When Alexander removed from Phaselis, he sent some part of his army over the mountains to Perga; which road the Thracians shewed him. A difficult way it was, but short. However he himself conducted those that were with him by the sea-shore. This road is impassable at any other time than when the north wind blows; but if the south wind prevail, there is no passing by the shore. Now at this time, after strong south winds, a north wind blew; and that not without the divine providence, (as both he and they that were with him supposed) and afforded him an easy and quick passage." Appian, when he compares Cæsar and Alexander together, (De Bel. Civil. B. II. p. 522.) says, "That they both depended on their boldness and fortune, as much as on their skill in war. As an instance of which Alexander journeyed over a country without water in the heat of Summer, to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and quickly passed over the bay of Pamphylia, when, by *divine providence*, the sea was cut off: thus *providence* restraining the sea on his account, as it had sent him rain when he travelled [over the desert.]"

N. B. Since, in the days of Josephus, as he assures us, *all* the more numerous original historians of Alexander gave the account he has here set down, as to the providential going back of the waters of the Pamphylian sea, when he was going with his army to destroy the Persian monarchy, which the fore-named authors now remaining fully confirm, it is without all just foundation that Josephus is here blamed, by some late writers, for quoting those ancient authors upon the present occasion: Nor can the reflections of Plutarch, or any other author later than Josephus, be in the least here alleged to contradict him. Josephus went by all the evidence he then had, and that evidence of the most authentic sort also: So that whatever the moderns may think of the thing itself, there is hence not the least colour for finding fault with Josephus; he would rather been much to blame had he omitted these quotations.

the while ago, the Pamphylian sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no other way to go. I mean, when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians: And this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to these events, let every one determine as he pleases.

6. On the next day Moses gathered together the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews, by the current of the sea, and the force of the winds assisting it; and he conjectured that this also happened by divine providence, that so they might not be destitute of weapons. So when he had ordered the Hebrews to arm themselves with them, he led them to mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifice to God, and to render oblations for the salvation of the multitude, as he was charged to do before hand.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

BOOK

Cont

[From the

aw Moses, v
them to mou
their journe

. WHE
d

uble to the
sustenance
ter, so that
n, but not
ched up, a
the vegeta
ntry, as h
ey had ind
d over whi
d bidden th
d to draw
rdness of th
ter, and no
b. And as
g to a place

Dr. Bernar
were bitter
Syrians for
takes notice
high waters
ares us; and
vels, part I.

B O O K III.

Containing the Interval of two Years.

[From the EXODUS out of Egypt to the rejection of that generation.]

C H A P. I.

Now Moses, when he had brought the people out of Egypt led them to mount Sinai, but not till they had suffered much in their journey.

WHEN the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was intirely a desert, and without sustenance for them; and also had exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no moisture that might afford nutriment to the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had travelled before, as their conductor had bidden them; but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities. And as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called * *Marah*, which had this name from the

* Dr. Bernard takes notice here, that this place Mar, where the waters were bitter, is called by the Syrians and Arabians *Mariri*, and by the Syrians sometimes *Morath*, all derived from the Hebrew *Mar*: he takes notice, that it is called the *bitter fountain* by Pliny himself. These waters remain there to this day, and are still bitter, as Thevenot assures us; and that there are also abundance of palm-trees. See his travels, part I. chap. xxvi. p. 166.

the badness of its water, for Mar denotes *bitterness*. Thither they came afflicted, both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made them choose to stay in the place, which although it were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort as found in such desert places; for they heard from those who had been to search, that there was nothing to be found, they travelled farther. Yet was this water bitter, and unfit for men to drink; and not only so, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

2. When Moses saw how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessities that distressed them. The multitude of the children, and the women also, being of too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves. Moses therefore was in great difficulties, and made every body calamity to be his own: For they ran all of them to him and begged of him; the women begged for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not overlook them but procure some way or other for their deliverance. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And when God had granted him that favour he took the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made the section length-way. He then let it down into the well, and persuaded the Hebrews that God had hearkened to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should instruct them to do; and this not after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they asked, What they were to do in order to have the water changed for the better? he bid the * strong

est men among them that stood there, to draw up water; and told them, that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink: So they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

3. AND now, removing from thence they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees; but when they came near it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill grown, and creeping trees, by the want of water, for the country about was all parched, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the fountains, which were in number twelve: they were rather a few moist places than springs, which not breaking out of the ground, nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees also were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said, that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him; for that they had then journeyed an entire thirty days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them, and meeting with no relief, they were in a very desponding condition. And by fixing their attention upon nothing but their present misfortunes, they were hindered from remembering what deliverances they had received from God, and those by the virtue and wisdom

VOL. I.

L

of

very improbable circumstances; but writing to Gentiles, that they might not complain of his omission of any accounts of such miracles derived from Gentiles, he did not think proper to conceal what he had met with there about this matter: Which procedure is perfectly agreeable to the character and usage of Josephus upon many occasions. This note is, I confess, barely conjectural: and since Josephus never tells us when his own copy, taken out of the temple, had such additions, or when any ancient notes supplied them; or indeed when they were derived from Jewish, and when from Gentile antiquity, we can go no farther than bare conjectures in such cases; only the notion of Jews were generally so different from those of Gentiles, that we may sometimes make no improbable conjectures to which sort such additions belong. See also somewhat like these additions in Josephus's account of Elisha's making sweet the bitter and barren spring near Jericho, Of the War, B. IV. ch. viii. § 3. vol. V

of Moses also; so they were very angry at their conduct, and were zealous in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

4. But as for Moses himself, while the multitude were irritated and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon his consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people: and he came into the midst of them, even while they clamoured against him, and had stones in their hands in order to dispatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be over-mindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their present uneasiness, to cast those great and wonderful favours and gifts, which they had obtained of God, out of their minds, but to expect deliverance out of those their present troubles, which they could not free themselves from, and this by the means of that divine providence which watched over them. Seeing it is probable, that God tries their virtue, and exercises their patience by these adversities, that it may appear what fortitude they have, and what memory they retain of his former wonderful works in their favour, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, either in patience, or in remembering what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contemning God, and his commands, when by those commands they left the land of Egypt; and sometimes by behaving themselves ill towards him who was the servant of God, and this when he had never deceived them, either in what he said, or had ordered them to do by God's command. He also put them in mind of all that had passed; how the Egyptians were destroyed when they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God; and after what manner the very same river was to the others bloody, and not fit for drinking, but was to them sweet, and fit for drinking; and how they went a new road through the sea, which fled a long way from them, by which very means they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them: and so he recounted

all the particular instances, how when they were, in appearance, just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner: that he had still the same power; and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them: and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, and to consider that help will not come too late though it come not immediately, if it be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune: that they ought to reason thus, that God delays to assist them, not because he has no regard to them, but because he will first try their fortitude, and the pleasure they take in their freedom, that he may learn whether you have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of waters on its account; or whether you rather love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberally, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own preservation; for if he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it any affliction, but that he is concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

5. By this means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them from stoning him, and brought them to repent of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were under made their passion less unjustifiable, he thought he ought to apply himself to God by prayer and application; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God for some succour for the people, and some way of deliverance from the want they were in, because in him, and in him alone, was their hope of salvation: And he desired that he would forgive what necessity had forced the people to do, since such was the nature of mankind, hard to please, and very complaining under adversities. Accordingly God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succour they were desirous of. Now when Moses had heard this from God, he came down to the multitude: But as soon as they saw him joyful at the promises he had received from God, they changed their sad countenances into gladness. So he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them, he came to bring them from God a deliverance out of their present distresses. Accordingly a little after came a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in this Arabian Gulph than any where else, flying over the sea, and hovered

over them, till wearied with their laborious flight, and indeed, as usual, flying very near to the earth, they fell down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and supposed that this was the method whereby God meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so suddenly, and sooner than he had promised them.

6. But presently after this first supply of food, he sent them a second: For as Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew fell down; and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to them, he tasted it; and perceiving that the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them, that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but came for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied about what he had told them. They also imitated their conductor, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness, and pleasant taste, but like in its body to bdellium, one of the sweet spices, but in bigness equal to coriander seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it. But they were enjoined to gather * it equally, the measure of an homer for each man every day, because this food should not come in too small a quantity, lest the weaker might not be able to get their share, by reason of the overbearing of the strong in collecting it. However, these strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for them, they had no more than others, but only tired themselves more in gathering it, for they found no more than an homer a piece; and the advantage they got by what was superfluous was none at all, it corrupting, both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine and wonderful a food this was! It also supplied the want of other sorts of food to those that fed on it. And even † now in all that place this manna

* It seems to me from what Moses, Exod. xvi. 18. St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 15. and Josephus here says, compared together, that the quantity of manna that fell daily, and did not putrify, was just so much as came to an homer a-piece, through the whole host of Israel, and no more.

† This supposal, that the sweet honey dew or manna, so celebrated in ancient and modern authors, as falling usually in Arabia, was of the very same sort with this manna sent to the Israelites, favours more of

na comes
tained of C
Now the I
man, in o
this? So t
them from
forty years

7. As so
Rephidim,
while in t
fountains,
they were
gainst Mo
tade, and
him, that
greatest w
favour of
they had n
give it the
a fountain
expect any
* they saw
plenty of v
should cor
When Mo
to the pec
for they sa

Gentilism t
some ancie
he here con
he seems di
this food fr
panus, an h
four like to
p. 239. B
man, which
divide, i. e.
incline to t
lxviii. 26.
here and c
from heave

* This m
be the sam
be brought

na comes down in rain, according to what Moses then obtained of God, to send it the people for their sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food *manna*; for the particle *man*, in our language, is the asking of a question, *What is this?* So the Hebrews were very joyful at what was sent them from heaven. Now they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.

7. As soon as they were removed thence, they came to Rephidim, being distressed to the last degree by thirst; and while in the foregoing days they had light on a few small fountains, but now found the earth entirely destitute of water, they were in an evil case. They again turned their anger against Moses; but he at first avoided the fury of the multitude, and then betook himself to prayer to God, beseeching him, that as he had given them food when they were in the greatest want of it, so he would give them drink, since the favour of giving them food was of no value to them while they had nothing to drink. And God did not long delay to give it them, but promised Moses that he would procure them a fountain, and plenty of water, from a place they did not expect any: So he commanded him to smite the rock which * they saw lying there, with his rod, and out of it to receive plenty of what they wanted; for he had taken care that drink should come to them without any labour or pains-taking. When Moses had received this command from God, he came to the people, who waited for him, and looked upon him, for they saw already that he was coming a-pace from his eminence.

L 3

nence.

Gentilism than of Judaism or Christianity. 'Tis not improbable that some ancient Gentile author, read by Josephus, so thought; nor would he here contradict him, though just before, and Antiq. B. IV. ch. iii. § 2. he seems directly to allow that it had not been seen before. However, this food from heaven is here described to be like snow; and in Artapanus, an heathen writer, it is compared to meal like to oatmeal, in colour like to snow, rained down by God. Essay on the Old Test. append. p. 239. But as to the derivation of the word *manna*, whether from *man*, which Josephus says then signified, *what is it?* or from *manab*, to divide, i. e. a dividend or portion allotted to every one, it is uncertain: I incline to the latter derivation. This manna is called *angels food*, Psal. lxxviii. 26. and by our Saviour, Joh. vi. 31, &c. as well as by Josephus here and elsewhere, Antiq. B. III. ch. v. § 3. said to be sent the Jews from heaven.

* This rock is there at this day, as the travellers agree; and must be the same as was there in the days of Moses, as being too large to be brought thither by our modern carriages.

nence. As soon as he was come, he told them, that God would deliver them from their present distress, and had granted them an unexpected favour; and informed them, that a river should run for their sakes out of the rock. But they were amazed at that hearing, supposing they were of necessity to cut the rock in pieces, now they were distressed by their thirst, and by their journey: while Moses only smiting the rock with his rod, opened a passage, and out of it burst out water, and that in great abundance, and very clear. But they were astonished at this wonderful effect; and as it were quenched their thirst by the very sight of it. So they drank this pleasant, this sweet water; and such it seemed to be, as might well be expected where God was the donor. They were also in admiration how Moses was honoured by God; and they made grateful returns of sacrifices to God for his providence towards them. Now that scripture, which is * laid up in the temple, informs us, how God foretold to Moses, that water should in this manner be derived out of the rock.

CHAP. II.

How the Amalekites, and the neighbouring nations, made war with the Hebrews, and were beaten, and lost a great part of their army.

§ 1. THE name of the Hebrews began already to be every where renowned, and rumours about them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants of those countries to be in no small fear. Accordingly they sent ambassadors to one another, and exhorted one another to defend themselves, and to endeavour to destroy these men. Those that induced the rest to do so, were such as inhabited Gobolitis and Petra. They were called *Amalekites*, and were the most warlike of the nations that lived thereabout; and whose kings exhorted one another, and their neighbours, to go to this war against the Hebrews; telling them, that an army of strangers and such an one as had run away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in wait to ruin them; which army they were not,

* Note here, that the small book of the principal laws of Moses is ever said to be laid up in the *holy house* itself, but the larger Pentateuch, as here, somewhere within the limits of the *temple* and its courts only. See Antiq. B. V. ch. I. § 17.

in common prudence, and regard to their own safety, to overlook, but to crush them before they gather strength, and come to be in prosperity; and perhaps attack them first in an hostile manner, as presuming upon our indolence in not attacking them before; and that we ought to avenge ourselves of them for what they have done in the wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done when they have once laid their hands on our cities, and our goods: that those who endeavour to crush a power in its first rise, are wiser than those that endeavour to put a stop to its progress, when it is become formidable; for these last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of others, but the former do not leave any room for their enemies to become troublesome to them. After they had sent such embassages to the neighbouring nations, and among one another, they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.

2. THESE proceedings of the people of those countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to Moses, who expected no such warlike preparations. And when these nations were ready to fight, and the multitude of the Hebrews were obliged to try the fortune of war, they were in a mighty disorder, and in want of all necessaries, and yet were to make war with men who were thoroughly well prepared for it. Then therefore it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on God's assistance, by which they had been advanced into a state of freedom, and to hope for victory over those who were ready to fight with them, in order to deprive them of that blessing. That they were to suppose their own army to be numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons, nor money, nor provisions, nor such other conveniences as when men are in possession of, they fight undauntedly; and that they are to judge themselves to have all these advantages in the divine assistance. They are also to suppose the enemies army to be small, unarmed, weak, and such as want those conveniences which they know must be wanted, when it is God's will that they shall be beaten. And how valuable God's assistance is, they had experienced in abundance of trials; and those such as were more terrible than war, for that is only against men, but these were against famine and thirst, things indeed that were in their own nature insuperable; as also against mountains, and that sea which afforded them no way for escaping: yet had

had all these difficulties been conquered by God's gracious kindness to them. So he exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present conquest of their enemies.

3. And with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, who then called together the princes of their tribes and their chief men, both separately and jointly. The younger men he charged to obey their elders, and the elders to hearken to their leader. So the people were elevated in their minds, and ready to try their fortune in battle, and hoped to be thereby at length delivered from all their miseries: Nay, they desired that Moses would immediately lead them against their enemies, without the least delay, that no backwardness might be an hinderance to their present resolution. So Moses sorted all that were fit for war into different troops; and set Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, over them; one that was of great courage, and patient to undergo labours; of great abilities to understand, and to speak what was proper; and very serious in the worship of God, and indeed made like another Moses, a teacher of piety towards God. He also appointed a small party of the armed men to be near the water; and to take care of the children and the women, and of the entire camp. So that whole night they prepared themselves for the battle: they took their weapons, if any of them had such as were well made, and attended to their commanders, as ready to rush forth to the battle, as soon as Moses should give the word of command. Moses also kept awake, teaching Joshua after what manner he should order his camp. But when the day began, Moses called for Joshua again, and exhorted him to approve himself in deeds such an one as his reputation made men expect from him; and to gain glory by the present expedition, in the opinion of those under him, for his exploits in this battle. He also gave a particular exhortation to the principal men of the Hebrews, and encouraged the whole army as it stood armed before him. And when he had thus animated the army both by his words and works, and prepared every thing, he retired to a mountain, and committed the army to God and to Joshua.

4. So the armies joined battle; and it came to a close fight hand to hand, both sides shewing great alacrity, and encouraging

ging one a
his hand
the Ama
nds thus
nds, so of
other Aar
and on eac
t permit h
tension of
nquered t
d all peris
e Hebrew
thers obta
r they not
nt terrifie
lendid ad
r their har
e enemies
r their ow
ny sort of
oned battl
on of thei
ature ages
f their en
his battle,
nem. Mo
or a great
amp; as a
f in their
d, there v

* This en
owards hea
owards the
mination v
which was
ther passag
way, this p
the clergy,
a book, wh
piture, an
roduced u
of divine f
have been
in all the p

ing one another. And indeed while Moses * stretched his hands towards heaven, the Hebrews were too hard on the Amalekites: But Moses not being able to sustain his hands thus stretched out, (for as often as he let down his hands, so often were his own people worsted), he had his brother Aaron, and Hur, their sister Miraim's husband, to stand on each side of him, and take hold of his hands, and not permit his weariness to prevent it, but to assist him in the tension of his hands. When this was done, the Hebrews conquered the Amalekites by main force; and indeed they had all perished, unless the approach of the night had obliged the Hebrews to desist from killing any more. So our forefathers obtained a most signal and most seasonable victory; for they not only overcame those that fought against them, but terrified also the neighbouring nations, and got great and splendid advantages, which they obtained of their enemies for their hard pains in this battle; for when they had taken the enemies camp, they got ready booty for the public, and for their own private families, whereas till then they had not any sort of plenty, of even necessary food. The fore-mentioned battle, when they had once got it, was also the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present, but for the future ages also: for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also, and, after this battle, became terrible to all that dwelt round about them. Moreover they acquired a vast quantity of riches; for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemies camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made common use of in their families; many utensils also that were embroidered, there were of both sorts, that is, of what were weaved; and

* This eminent circumstance, that while Moses's hands were *lift up* towards heaven, the Israelites prevailed, and while they were *let down* towards the earth, the Amalakites prevailed, seems to me the earliest intimation we have of the proper posture, used of old, in solemn prayer, which was the stretching out the hands [and eyes] towards heaven, as other passages of the Old and New Testament inform us. Nay, by the way, this posture seems to have continued in the Christian Church, till the clergy, instead of learning their prayers by heart, read them out of a book, which is, in great measure, inconsistent with such an elevated posture, and which seems to me to have been only a latter practice introduced under the corrupt state of the church, though the constant use of divine forms of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, appears to me to have been the practice of God's people, Patriarchs, Jews, and Christians, in all the past ages.

and what were the ornaments of their armour, and other things that served for use in the family, and for the furniture of their rooms: they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps, when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valour; and they perpetually enured themselves to take pains by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted. Such were the consequences of this battle.

5. On the next day, Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gathered together the armour of those that were fled, and gave rewards to such as had signalized themselves in the action; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who was attested to by all the army, on account of the great actions he had done. Nor was any one of the Hebrews slain; but the slain of the enemies army were too many to be enumerated. So Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he named, *the Lord the Conqueror*. He also foretold, that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed; and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and this when they were in the wilderness, and in their distress also. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt. But, when Moses had celebrated this festival for the victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days, and then he brought them out after the fight, in order of battle; for they had now many soldiers in light armour. And going gradually on, he came to mount Sinai, in three months time after they were removed out of Egypt; at which mountain, as we have before related, the vision of the bush, and the other wonderful appearances, had happened.

C H A P. III.

That Moses kindly received his father-in-law Jethro, when he came to him to Mount Sinai.

NOW when Raguel, Moses's father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him: And Moses took Zipporah his wife, and his children, and pleased himself with his coming. And

and when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude, near the bush he had formerly seen; which multitude, every one, according to their families, partook of the feast. But Aaron, and his family, took Raguel, and sung hymns to God, as to him who had been the author and promoter of their deliverance, and their freedom. They also praised their conductor, as him by whose virtue it was that all things had succeeded so well with them. Raguel also, in his eucharistical oration to Moses, made great encomiums on the whole multitude: And he could not but admire Moses for his fortitude, and that humanity he had shewed in the delivery of his friends.

CHAP. IV.

How Raguel suggested to Moses to set his people in order, under their rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, who lived without order before; And how Moses complied in all things with his father-in-law's admonition.

1. **THE** next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the midst of a crowd of business, (for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one still coming to him, and supposing that they should then only obtain justice, if he were the arbitrator; and, those that lost their causes, thought it no great harm, while they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality). Raguel however said nothing to him at that time, as not desirous to be any hindrance to such as had a mind to make use of the virtue of their conductor. But afterward he took him to himself, and when he had him alone, he instructed him in what he ought to do; and advised him to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater. and of the peoples safety. for that certain others of the Hebrews might be found that were fit to determine causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take care of the safety of so many ten thousands. Be not therefore, says he, insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering under God to the peoples preservation. Permit therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but do thou reserve thyself to the attendance on God only, and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from their present distress. Make use of the method I suggest to you, as to human affairs; and take

take a review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands: then divide them into five hundreds; and again into hundreds, and into fifties, and set rulers over each of them, who may distinguish them into thirties, and keep them in order; and at last number them by twenties and by tens: And let there be one commander over each number, to be denominated from the number of those over whom they are rulers, but such as the whole multitude have tried, and do * approve of, as being good and righteous men; and let these rulers decide the controversies they have one with another. But if any great cause arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers of an higher dignity; but if any great difficulty arise that is too hard for even their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means two advantages will be gained; that the Hebrews will have justice done them; and thou wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favourable to the people.

2. This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend to it himself, but informed the multitude who it was that invented it: Nay, he has named Raguel in the books he wrote, as the person who invented this ordering of the people, as thinking it right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, although he might have gotten reputation by ascribing to himself the inventions of other men. Whence we may learn the virtuous disposition of Moses: But of such his disposition, we shall have proper occasion to speak in other places of these books.

CHAP. V.

How Moses ascended up to mount Sinai, and received laws from God, and delivered them to the Hebrews.

§ 1. NOW Moses called the multitude together, and told them, that he was going from them unto mount Sinai to converse with God; to receive from him

* This manner of electing the judges and officers of the Israelites by the *testimonies* and *suffrages* of the people, before they were ordained by God, or by Moses, deserves to be carefully noted, because it was the pattern of the like manner of the choice and ordination of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, in the Christian Church.

and to bring
ed them to
the habitac
note. W
Sinai, whi
in that cou
y men, on
sharpness o
ed at witho
ible and i
about, tha
their tents
of the low
their mind
God with
them: So
cept them
anying w
dered them
avourably
now some
They also
their wive
ng than t
2. So t
on the thi
over the v
had before
pitched th
clear, the
of rain, y

VOL. I.

* Since
mountains
rines, whic
Sinai, as M
The other
was its nan
lately come
other natio
that Elijah
B. VIII. ch
and Jerom
to have tw

and to bring back with him a certain oracle: But he enjoined them to pitch their tents near the mountain, and prefer the habitation that was nearest to God, before one more remote. When he had said this, he ascended up to Mount Sinai, which * is the highest of all the mountains that are in that country, and is not only very difficult to be ascended by men, on account of its vast altitude, but because of the sharpness of its precipices also; nay, indeed it cannot be looked at without pain of the eyes: And besides this, it was terrible and inaccessible, on account of the rumour that passed about, that God dwelt there. But the Hebrews removed their tents, as Moses had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest parts of the mountain; and were elevated in their minds, in expectation that Moses would return from God with promises of the good things he had proposed to them: So they feasted, and waited for their conductor; and kept themselves pure, as in other respects, and not accompanying with their wives for three days as he had before ordered them to do. And they prayed to God, that he would favourably receive Moses in his conversing with him; and bestow some such gift upon them by which they might live well. They also lived more plentifully as to their diet; and put on their wives and children more ornamental and decent cloathing than they usually wore.

2. So they passed two days in this way of feasting; but on the third day, before the sun was up, a cloud spread itself over the whole camp of the Hebrews, such an one as none had before seen, and encompassed the place where they had pitched their tents; and while all the rest of the air was clear, there came strong winds, that raised up large showers of rain, which became a mighty tempest. There was also

VOL. I.

M

such

* Since this mountain Sinai is here said to be *the highest of all the mountains that are in that country*, it must be that now called *St. Katharine*, which is one third higher than that within a mile of it now called *Sinai*, as *Monf. Thevenot* informs us, *Travels*, part I. ch. xxviii. p. 168. The other name of it, *Horeb*, is never used by *Josephus*; and perhaps was its name among the Egyptians only, whence the Israelites were lately come, as *Sinai* was its name among the Arabians, Canaanites, and other nations. Accordingly when (1 Kings ix. 8.) the scripture says, that *Elijah came to Horeb, the mount of God*, *Josephus* justly says, *Antiq. B. VIII. ch. xiii. § 7. vol. II. that he came to the mountain called Sinai*: and *Jerom*, here cited by *Dr. Hudson*, says, that he took this mountain to have two names, *Sinai* and *Choreb*. See *Nomin. Heb.* p. 427.

such lightning, as was terrible to those that saw it; and thunder, with its thunder-bolts were sent down, and declared God to be there present in a gracious way to such as Moses desired he should be gracious. Now as to these matters, every one of my readers may think as he pleases; but I am under a necessity of relating this history as it is described in the sacred books. This sight, and the amazing sound that came to their ears, disturbed the Hebrews to a prodigious degree, for they were not such as they were accustomed to; and then the rumour that was spread abroad, how God frequented that mountain, greatly astonished their minds, so they sorrowfully contained themselves within their tents, as both supposing Moses to be destroyed by the divine wrath, and expecting the like destruction for themselves.

3. WHEN they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. When they saw him they were freed from their fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. The air also was become clear and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of Moses. Whereupon he called together the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them: And when they were gathered together he stood on an eminence, whence they might all hear him and said, "God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as he has formerly done; and has suggested an happy method of living for you, and an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you for his sake, and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a low value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers them to you, but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the things themselves, you will understand the greatness of his whole institutions they are, and who has not disdained to communicate them to me for our common advantage; for it is not to be supposed, that the author of these institutions is barely Moses, the son of Amram, and Jochebed, but he who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sake, and tamed the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various sorts of judgments: he who provided a way through the sea for us: he who contrived a method of sending us for

from he
who ma
very li
made to
sea: he
whose r
grim w
whose r
old: he
virtuou
t-nt lo
instruct
be to y
you tha
you wi
enjoy t
womb
terribl
the pre
corrup
and its
4. W
their wi
might h
which t
be spoke
of a man
derstand
them fr
scaped t
not * la
will dec
5. T
one Go
cond co
ture to
God in
seventh
that we

* Of
Josephus

from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it: he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before: he by whose means Adam was made to partake of the fruits both of the land and of the sea: he by whose means Noah escaped the deluge: he by whose means our forefather Abraham, of a wandering pilgrim was made the heir of the land of Canaan: he by whose means Isaac was born of parents who were very old: he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons: he by whose means Joseph became a potent lord over the Egyptians: he it is who conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter. And let them be to you venerable, and contended for more earnestly by you than your own children, and your own wives; for if you will follow them, you will lead an happy life; you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the womb born complete, as nature requires; you will be also terrible to your enemies: For I have been admitted into the presence of God, and been made a hearer of his incorruptible voice; so great is his concern for your nation, and its duration."

4. WHEN he had said this, he brought the people, with their wives and children, so near the mountain, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about the precepts which they were to practise; that the energy of what should be spoken might not be hurt by its utterance by that tongue of a man, which could but imperfectly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, inasmuch that no one of these words escaped them, which Moses wrote in two tables; which it is not * lawful for us to set down directly, but their import we will declare.

5. THE first commandment teaches us, that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in a false matter. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sort of work. The fifth, that we must honour our parents. The sixth, that we must

M 2

abstain

* Of this and another like superstitious notion of the Pharisees, which Josephus complied with, see the note on Antiq. B. II. ch. xii. § 4.

abstain from murder. The seventh, that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's.

6. Now when the multitude had heard God himself giving those precepts which Moses had discoursed of, they rejoiced at what was said; and the congregation was dissolved: But on the following days they came to his tent, and desired him to bring them besides other laws from God. Accordingly he appointed such laws; and afterward informed them in what manner they should act in all cases: which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time; but I shall reserve most of those laws for * another work, and make there a distinct explication of them.

7. WHEN matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to mount Sinai, of which he had told them before hand. He made his ascent in their sight; and while he stayed there so long a time, for he was absent from them forty days, fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should have come to any harm; nor was there any thing else so sad, and that so much troubled them, as this supposal, that Moses was perished. Now there was a variety in their sentiments about it; some saying that he was fallen among wild beasts, and those that were of this opinion were chiefly such as were ill-disposed to him; but others saying, that he was departed and gone to God; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of those opinions, with any satisfaction, thinking, that it was a thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts, and perish that way, so it was probable enough that he might depart and go to God, on account of his virtue, they therefore were quiet, and expected the event: Yet were they exceeding sorry upon the supposal that they were deprived of a governor, and a protector, such an one indeed as they could never recover again; nor would this suspicion give them leave to expect any comfortable event about this man, nor could they prevent their trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. However, the camp durst not remove

* This other work of Josephus's, here referred to, seems to be that which does not appear to have been ever published, which yet he intended to publish, about the reasons of many of the laws of Moses: of which see the note on the Preface, § 4.

remove all
ay there.

8. But
ver, Mose
ly appoin
lled the a
are God h
their lives
g these d
that he wo
would desc
arry it ab
that there
mount Sin
abernacle
o, that th
struction a
the work,
this, he sh
ments eng
writing w

Concernin
ness, f
Temple

§ 1. H

wanting
brought
wood, a
camels h
blue col
for the p
by the f
stones, v
of gold
these m
at all d
when th
for ever

remove all this while, because Moses had bid them afore to stay there.

8. But when the forty days, and as many nights, were over, Moses came down, having tasted nothing of food usually appointed for the nourishment of men. His appearance pleased the army with gladness, and he declared to them what God had of them, and by what manner of conduct of their lives they might live happily; telling them, that during these days of his absence, he had suggested to him also that he would have a tabernacle built for him, into which he would descend when he came to them; and how we should carry it about with us when we remove from this place; and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to mount Sinai, but that he would himself come and pitch his tabernacle amongst us, and be present at our prayers; as also, that the tabernacle should be of such measures and construction as he had shewed him, and that you are to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he shewed them the two tables, with the ten commandments engraven upon them, five upon each table; and the writing was by the hand of God.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning the Tabernacle which Moses built in the wilderness, for the honour of God, and which seemed to be a Temple.

§ 1. **H**EREUPON the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were not wanting in diligence according to their ability; but they brought silver, and gold, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction; camels hair also, and sheep-skins, some of them dyed of a blue colour, and some of a scarlet; some brought the flower for the purple colour, and others for white; with wool dyed by the flowers afore-mentioned; and fine linen, and precious stones, which those that use costly ornaments set in ouches of gold; they brought also a great quantity of spices; for of these materials did Moses build the tabernacle, which did not at all differ from a moveable and ambulatory temple. Now when these things were brought together with great diligence, for every one was ambitious to further the work, even be-

yond their ability, he set architects over the works, and this by the command of God; and indeed the very same which the people themselves would have chosen, had the election been allowed to them. Now their names are set down in writing in the sacred books; and they were these, Beseleel the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Merari, the sister of their conductor; and Aholiah, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. Now the people went on with what they had undertaken with so great alacrity, that Moses was obliged to restrain them, by making proclamation that what had been brought was sufficient, as the artificers had informed him. So they fell to work upon the building of the tabernacle. Moses also informed them, according to the direction of God, both what the measures were to be, and its largeness; and how many vessels it ought to contain for the use of the sacrifices. The women also were ambitious to do their parts, about the garments of the priests, and about other things that would be wanted in this work, both for ornament, and for the divine service itself.

2. Now when all things were prepared, the gold, and the silver, and the brass, and what was woven, Moses, when he had appointed before hand that there should be a festival, and that sacrifices should be offered according to every one's ability, * reared up the tabernacle. And when he had measured the open court, fifty cubits broad, and an hundred long, he set up brazen pillars, five cubits high, twenty on each of the longer sides, and ten pillars for the breadth behind; every one of the pillars also had a ring. Their chapiters were of silver, but their bases were of brass; they resembled the sharp ends of spears, and were of brass, fixed into the ground. Cords were also put through the rings, and were tied at their farther ends to brass nails of a cubit long, which at every pillar were driven into the floor, and would keep the tabernacle from being shaken by the violence of winds. But a curtain of fine soft linen went round all the pillars, and hung down in a flowing and loose manner from their chapiters, and inclosed the whole space, and seemed not at all unlike to a wall about it. And this was the structure of three of the sides of this inclosure. But as for the fourth side, which was

fifty

* Of this tabernacle of Moses, with its several parts and furniture, see my description at large, ch. vi. vii. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. hereto belonging.

and the
e which
election
down in
Besaleel
of Mo
e son
went on
ty, that
imation
rtificer
uilding
rding to
e to be
contain
e ambi
sts, and
k, both

ifty cubits in extent, and was the front of the whole, twenty cubits of it were for the opening at the gates, wherein stood two pillars on each side, after the resemblance of open gates, these were made wholly of silver, and polished, and that all over, excepting the bases, which were of brass. Now on each side of the gates there stood three pillars, which were inserted into the concave bases of the gates, and were suited to them; and round them was drawn a curtain of fine linen. But to the gates themselves, which were twenty cubits in extent, and five in height, the curtain was composed of purple, and scarlet, and blue, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the brazen laver for purification, having a basin beneath, of the like matter, whence the priests might wash their hands, and sprinkle their feet. And this was the ornamental construction of the inclosure about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

and the
hen he
al, and
e's abi
measur
d long
each of
d; eve
s were
ed the
round
t their
every
taber-
But a
l hung
s, and
e to a
of the
h was
fifty
re, see
ing.

3. As to the tabernacle itself, Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that when the sun arose it might send its first rays upon it. Its length, when it was set up, was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten] cubits. The one of its walls was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to its breadth [ten cubits]. There were also pillars made of wood, twenty on each side; they were wrought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and an half, but the thickness was four fingers: they had thin plates of gold affixed to them on both sides, inwardly and outwardly: they had each of them two tenons belonging to them, inserted into their bases, and these were of silver; in each of which bases there was a socket to receive the tenon. But the pillars on the west wall were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, insomuch that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was also covered with gold, both within and without. The number of pillars was equal on the opposite sides, and there were on each part twenty, and every one of them had the third part of a span in thickness; so that the number of thirty cubits were fully made up between them. But as to the wall behind, where the six pillars made up together

gether only nine cubits they made two other pillars, and cut them out, of one cubit, which they placed in the corners, and made them equally fine with the other. Now every one of the pillars had rings of gold affixed to their fronts outward, as if they had taken root in the pillars, and stood one row over against another round about, through which were inserted bars girt over with gold, each of them five cubits long, and these bound together the pillars, the head of one bar running into another, after the nature of one tenon inserted into another. But for the wall behind, there was but one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls, the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole firmly together; and for this reason was all this joined so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the winds. or by any other means. but that it might preserve itself quiet and immoveable continually.

4. As for the inside, Moses parted its length into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end Moses placed four pillars, whose workmanship was the very same with that of the rest; and they stood upon the like bases with them, each a small matter distant from his fellow. Now the room within those pillars was the *Most Holy Place*; but the rest of the room was the *Tabernacle*, which was open for the priests. However, this proportion of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world; for that third part thereof which was within the four pillars, to which the priests were not admitted, is, as it were, an heaven, peculiar to God: But the space of the twenty cubits, is, as it were, sea and land, on which men live, and so this part is peculiar to the priests only. But at the front, where the entrance was made, they placed pillars of gold, that stood on bases of brass, in number seven; but then they spread over the tabernacle vails of fine linen and purple, and blue, and scarlet colours, embroidered. The first vail was ten cubits every way, and this they spread over the pillars which parted the temple, and kept the most holy place concealed within; and this vail was that which made this part not visible to any. Now the whole temple was called *The Holy Place*; but that part which was within the four pillars, and to which none were admitted, was called *The Holy of Holies*. This vail was very orna-

mental,

and cut
corners,
very one
nts cut
stood one
were in
its long
one bar
inserted
but one
rich row
r walls
nts, that
son was
ight not
ans. but
inually
to three
most fe
hip was
pon the
his fel
st Holy
which
of the
of the
ich was
admits
But the
nd, on
eits on
e, they
n num
vails o
s, em
nd this
d kept
as that
whole
ch was
mitted
orna
mental

mental and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the
earth produces; and there was interwoven into it all sorts of
variety that might be an ornament, excepting the forms of
animals. Another vail there was which covered the five pil-
lars that were at the entrance: It was like the former in
its magnitude, and texture, and colour; and at the corner
of every pillar a ring retained it from the top downwards,
half the depth of the pillars, the other half affording an en-
trance for the priests, who crept under it. Over this there
was a vail of linen, of the same largeness with the former;
it was to be drawn this way or that way by cords, whose
rings fixed to the texture of the vail, and to the cords also,
were subservient to the drawing and undrawing of the vail,
and to the fastening it at the corner, that then it might be
no hinderance to the view of the sanctuary, especially on so-
lemn days; but that on other days, and especially when the
weather was inclined to snow, it might be expanded, and af-
ford a covering to the vail of diverse colours: Whence that
custom of ours is derived, of having a fine linen vail, after
the temple has been built, to be drawn over the entrances.
But the ten other curtains were four cubits in breadth, and
twenty-eight in length, and had golden clasps, in order to
join the one curtain to the other, which was done so exactly,
that they seemed to be one entire curtain; these were spread
over the temple, and covered all the top, and parts of the
walls, on the sides and behind, so far as within one cubit of
the ground. There were other curtains of the same breadth
with these, but one more in number, and longer, for they
were thirty cubits long; but these were woven of hair, with
the like subtilty as those of wool were made, and were ex-
tended loosely down to the ground, appearing like a triangu-
lar front and elevation at the gates; the eleventh curtain be-
ing used for this very purpose. There were also other cur-
tains made of skins above these, which afforded covering
and protection to those that were woven, both in hot wea-
ther, and when it rained. And great was the surprize of
those who viewed these curtains at a distance, for they seem-
ed not at all to differ from the colour of the sky. But those
that were made of hair, and of skins, reached down in the
same manner as did the vail at the gates, and kept off the
heat of the sun, and what injury the rains might do. And
after this manner was the tabernacle reared.

5. THERE was also an ark made, sacred to God, of wood that was naturally strong, and could not be corrupted: This was called *Eron*, in our own language. Its construction was thus: Its length was five spans, but its breadth and height was each of them three spans: It was covered all over with gold, both within and without, so that the wooden part was not seen. It had also a cover united to it, by golden hinges after a wonderful manner; which cover was every way exactly fitted to it, and had no eminences to hinder its exact conjunction. There were also two golden rings belonging to each of the longer boards, and passing through the entire wood, and through them gilt bars passed along each board, that it might thereby be moved and carried about, as occasion should require; for it was not drawn in a cart by beasts of burden, but born on the shoulders of the priests. Upon the cover its cover were two images, which the Hebrews call *Cherubims*; they are flying creatures, but their form is not like that of any of the creatures which men have seen, though Moses said he had seen such beings near the throne of God. In this ark he put the two tables whereon the ten commandments were written, five upon each table, and two and a half upon each side of them: and this ark he placed in the most holy place.

6. But in the holy place he placed a table, like those at Delphi: Its length was two cubits, and its breadth one cubit, and its height three spans. It had feet also, the lower half of which were complete feet, resembling those which the Dorians put to their bedsteads, but the upper parts towards the table were wrought into a square form. The table had an hollow towards every side, having a ledge of four fingers depth, that went round about like a spiral, both of the upper and lower part of the body of the work. Upon every one of the feet was there also inserted a ring, not far from the cover, through which went bars of wood beneath but gilded, to be taken out upon occasion, there being a cavity where it was joined to the rings; for they were not entire rings, but before they came quite round, they ended in acute points, the one of which was inserted into the prominent part of the table, and the other into the foot; and by these it was carried when they journeyed. Upon this table which was placed on the north side of the temple, not far from the most holy place, were laid twelve unleavened

loaves

aves of bread, six upon each heap, one above another: they were made of two tenth deals of the purest flower, which tenth deal [an homer] is a measure of the Hebrews, containing seven Athenian *cotylæ*; and above those loaves were set two vials full of frankincense. Now after seven days other loaves were brought in their stead, on the day which is by us called the *Sabbath*; for we call the seventh day the *Sabbath*: But for the occasion of this invention of placing loaves here we will speak to it in another place.

7. Over against this table, near the southern wall, was set a candlestick of cast gold, hollow within, being of the height of one hundred pound, which the Hebrews call *cinshares*; if it be turned into the Greek language, denotes a talent. It was made with its knops, and lillies, and pomegranates, and bowls, (which ornaments amounted to seventy in all); by which means the shaft elevated itself on high from a single base, and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun among them. It terminated in seven heads, in one row, all standing parallel to one another; and these branches carried seven lamps, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets: these lamps looked to the east and to the south, the candlestick being situate obliquely.

8. Now between this candlestick, and the table, which, as we said, were within the sanctuary, was the altar of incense, made of wood indeed, but of the same wood of which the foregoing vessels were made, such as was not liable to corruption: It was intirely crufted over with a golden plate. Its breadth on each side was a cubit, but the altitude double. Upon it was a grate of gold, that was extant above the altar, which had a golden crown encompassed it round about, whereto belonged rings and bars, by which the priests carried it when they journeyed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a brazen altar, but it was within made of wood, five cubits by measure on each side, but its height was but three, in like manner adorned with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also a brazen hearth of net-work, for the ground underneath received the fire from the hearth, because it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this altar lay the basons, and the vials, and the censers, and the caldrons, made of gold: But the other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices, were all

all of brass. And such was the construction of the tabernacle; and these were the vessels thereto belonging.

CHAP. VII.

Which were the governments of the Priests, and of the High Priest: Concerning the priesthood of Aaron, with the manner of the purifications and sacrifices; as also concerning the festivals, and how each day was then disposed of; and other laws.

§ 1. THERE were peculiar garments appointed for the priests, and for all the rest, which they call *Cabanæ*, [priestly] garments, as also for the high priest, which they call *Cabanæ Rabbæ*, and denote the high priest's garments. Such was therefore the habit of the rest. But when the priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies himself with the purification which the law prescribes; and, in the first place, he puts on that which is called *Machanase*, which means somewhat that is fast tied. It is a girdle composed of fine twined linen, and is put about the privy parts, the feet being to be inserted into them in the nature of breeches, but above half of it is cut off, and it ends at the thighs, and is there tied fast.

2. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made of fine flax doubled; it is called *Chethone*, and denotes linen, for we call linen by the name of *Chethone*. This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven, that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen, but the warp was nothing but fine linen. The beginning of its circumvolution is at the breast, and when it has gone often round it is there tied, and hangs loosely there down to the ankles; I mean this, all the time the priest is not about any laborious service, for in this position it appears in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, that he may not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and bears it on his shoulder. Moses indeed calls this belt *Abaneth*; but we have learned

from

from the Babylonians to call it *Emia*, for so it is by them called. This vestment has no loose or hollow parts any where in it, but only a narrow aperture about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and is fastened above each shoulder; it is called *Maffabazanes*.

3. UPON his head he wears a cap, not brought to a conic form, nor incircling the whole head, but still covering more than the half of it, which is called *Mafnaemphthes*: And its make is such, that it seems to be a crown, being made of thick swathes, but the contexture is of linen; and it is doubled round many times, and sewed together: besides which, a piece of fine linen covers the whole cap from the upper part, and reaches down to the forehead, and hides the seams of the swathes, which would otherwise appear indecently: this adheres closely upon the solid part of the head, and is thereto so firmly fixed, that it may not fall off during the sacred service about the sacrifices. So we have now shewed you what is the habit of the generality of the priests.

4. THE high priest is indeed adorned with the same garments that we have described without abating one, only over these he puts on a vestment of a blue colour. This also is a long robe, reaching to his feet: In our language it is called *Mecir*, and is tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colours and flowers as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven. To the bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in colour like pomegranates, with golden * bells by a curious and beautiful contrivance; so that between two bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not composed of two pieces, nor

VOL. I

N

was

* * The use of these golden bells at the bottom of the high priest's long garment, seems to me to have been this, that by shaking his garment at the time of his offering incense in the temple, on the great day of expiation, or at other proper periods of his sacred ministrations there, on the great festivals, the people might have notice of it, and might fall to their own prayers at the time of incense, or other proper periods; and so the whole congregation might at once offer those common prayers jointly with the high priest himself to the Almighty. See Luc. i. 10. Apoc. viii 3, 4. Nor probably is the father of Sirach to be otherwise understood, when he says of Aaron, the first high priest, Ecclef. xlv. 9. *And God encompassed Aaron with pomegranates, and with many golden bells round about, that as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made, that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people.*

was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides, but it was one long vestment so woven as to have an aperture for the neck; not an oblique one, but parted all along the breast and the back. A border also was sewed to it, lest the aperture should look too indecently: It was also parted where the hands were to come out.

5. BESIDES these, the high priest put on a third garment which was called the *Ephod*, which resembles the *Epomis* of the Greeks. Its make was after this manner: It was woven to the depth of a cubit, of several colours, with gold intermixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle of the breast uncovered: It was made with sleeves also; nor did it appear to be at all differently made from a short coat. But in the void place of this garment there was inserted a piece of the bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and the other colours of the ephod, and is called *Effên* [the *Breast-Plate*] which, in the Greek language, signifies the *Oracle*. This piece exactly filled up the void space in the ephod. It is united to it by golden rings at every corner, the like rings being annexed to the ephod, and a blue ribband was made use of to tie them together by those rings; and that the space between the rings might not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with stitches of blue ribbands. There were also two sardonxyes upon the ephod, at the shoulders, to fasten it, in the nature of buttons, having each end running to the sardonxyes of gold, that they might be buttoned by them. On these were engraven the names of the sons of Jacob, in our own country letters, and our own tongue, six on each of the stones, on either side; and the elder sons names were on the right shoulder. Twelve stones also there were upon the breast-plate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty; and they were an ornament not to be purchased by men, because of their immense value. These stones, however, stood in three rows, by four in a row, and were inserted into the breast-plate itself, and they were set in ouches of gold, that were themselves inserted in the breast-plate, and were so made that they might not fall out. Now the first three stones were, a sardonxy, a topaz, and an emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a ligure, then an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the next was an onyx, and

and then a beryl, which was the last of all. Now the names of all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order according to which they were born. And whereas the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings, of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breast-plate, which reached to the neck, and inserted into the very texture of the breast-plate, to receive chains finely wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extremity turned backwards and went into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breast-plate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breast-plate, which was of the forementioned colours, with gold intermixed, which when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted its fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them entirely.

6. THE high priest's mitre was the same that we described before, and was wrought like that of all the other priests; above which there was another, with swathes of blue embroidered, and round it was a golden crown polished, of three rows one above another; out of which arose a cup of gold, which resembled the herb which we call *Saccharus*, but those Greeks that are skilful in botany call it *Hyoscyamus*. Now lest any one that has seen this herb, but has not been taught its name, and is unacquainted with its nature, or having known its name, knows not the herb when he sees it, I shall give such a description of it. This herb is oftentimes in tallness above three spans, but its root is like that of a turnip, (for he that should compare it thereto would not be mistaken), but its leaves are like to the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a calyx, cleaving to the branch, and a coat encompasses it, which it naturally puts off when it is changing, in order to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the bigness of the bone of the little finger, but in the compass of its aperture is like a cup. This I will farther describe for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. Suppose a sphere be divided into two parts, round at the bottom, but having another segment that grows up to a circumference from that bottom: Suppose it become narrower by

degrees, and that the cavity of that part grow decently smaller, and then gradually grow wider again at the brim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a coat grows over this plant as renders it a hemisphere, and that as one may say, turned accurately in a lath, and having its notches extant above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now the fruit is preserved by this coat of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb *fideritis*: It sends out a flower that may seem to resemble that of poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far as from the hinder part of the head to each of the temples; but this *ephielis*, for so this calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, but it was covered with a * *golden plate*, which had inscribed upon it the name of God, in sacred characters. And such were the ornaments of the high priest.

7. Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to be on account of our despising that deity which they pretend to honour: For if any one do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred ministration, he will find that our legislator was a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if any one do, without prejudice, and with judgment look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into † three parts, and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, these being of general access to all; but

* The reader ought to take notice here, that the very Mosaic *petalon*, or *golden plate*, for the forehead of the Jewish high priest, was itself preserved, not only till the days of Josephus, but of Origen; and that its inscription, *Holiness to the Lord*, was in the Samaritan characters.—See Antiq. B. VIII. ch. iii. § 8. vol. II. Essay on the Old. Test. p. 154. and Reland, De Spol. Templi. p. 132.

† When Josephus, both here and ch. vi. § 4, supposes the tabernacle to have been parted into three parts, he seems to esteem the bare entrance to be a third division, distinct from the holy and the most holy places; and this the rather, because in the temple afterward there was a real distinct third part, which was called the *Porch*, otherwise Josephus would contradict his own description of the tabernacle, which gives us a particular account of no more than two parts.

but he set apart the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he ordered twelve loaves to be set on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished into so many months. By branching out the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the *Decani*, or seventy divisions of the planets; and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number. The vails too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements; for the fine linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grows out of the earth. The purple signified the sea, because that colour is dyed by the blood of a seashell-fish. The blue is fit to signify the air; and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high priest being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it shewed, that God had made the universe of four [elements]; and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the spendor by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breast-plate to be placed in the middle of the ephod, to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place of the world. And the girdle which encompassed the high priest round, signified the ocean, for that goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon, those, I mean, that were in the nature of buttons on the high priest's shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the like number of the signs of that circle which the Greeks call the *Zodiac*, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the mitre, which was of a blue colour, it seems to me to mean heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? That it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of that splendor with which God is pleased. Let this * explication suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and at many occasions, afford me the opportunity of enlarging on the virtue of our legislator.

N 3

CHAP.

* This explication of the mystical meaning of the Jewish tabernacle, and its vessels, with the garments of the high priest, is taken out of Philo,

C H A P. VIII.

Of the priesthood of Aaron.

§ 1. **WHEN** what has been described was brought to a conclusion, gifts not being yet presented, God appeared to Moses, and enjoined him to bestow the high priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as upon him that best of them all deserved to obtain that honour, on account of his virtue. And when he had gathered the multitude together, he gave them an account of Aaron's virtue, and of his good-will to them, and of the dangers he had undergone for their sakes. Upon which, when they had given testimony to him in all respects, and shewed their readiness to receive him, Moses said to them, "O you Israelites, this work is already brought to a conclusion, in a manner most acceptable to God, and according to our abilities. And now since you see that he is received into this tabernacle, we shall first of all stand in need of one that may officiate for us, and may minister to the sacrifices, and to the prayers that are to be put up for us. And indeed had the inquiry after such a person been left to me, I should have thought myself worthy of this honour, both because all men are naturally fond of themselves, and because I am conscious to myself that I have taken a great deal of pains for your deliverance: But now God himself has determined that Aaron is worthy of this honour, and has chosen him for his priest, as knowing him to be the most righteous person among

N 3

to, and fitted to Gentile philosophical notions. This may possibly be forgiven in Jews, greatly versed in heathen learning and philosophy, as Philo had ever been, and as Josephus had long been, when he wrote these Antiquities. In the mean time, it is not to be doubted, but in their education they must have both learned more Jewish interpretations, such as we meet with in the epistle of Barnabas, in that to the Hebrews, and elsewhere among the old Jews. Accordingly when Josephus wrote his books of the Jewish War, for the use of the Jews, at which time he was comparatively young, and less used to Gentile books, we find one specimen of such a Jewish interpretation: for there (B. VII. ch. v. § 5. vol. VI.) he makes the seven branches of the temple candlestick, with their seven lamps, an emblem of the seven days of creation and rest, which are here emblems of the seven planets. Nor certainly ought ancient Jewish emblems to be explained any otherwise than according to ancient Jewish, and not Gentile notions. See *Of the War*, B. I. ch. xxxiii. §. 2. vol. V.

among yo
are confec
tars, and
that mul
hear them
your natio
ed by one
the Hebre
ave their
Aaron was
count of
er's virtu
leazar, an
2. Now
tensils wh
the tabe
lestick, an
might not
ain, or by
the mult
ffer half
which she
four At
what Mos
ts was fir
Now this
was given
fity; and
ernacle.

* It is w
required i
that he sho
as also tha
by Joseph
which are
quires in t
stical Co
† This
equal to a
one-fifth l
perfectly
oined ge
phus pub
halfpenny
mit Sam

among you : So that he is to put on the vestments which are consecrated to God; he is to have the care of the altars, and to make provision for the sacrifices; and he it is that must put up prayers for you to God, who will readily hear them, not only because he is himself solicitous for your nation, but also because he will receive them as offered by one that he hath himself chosen to this office *." The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and they gave their approbation to him whom God had ordained; for Aaron was of them all the most deserving of this honour, on account of his own stock, and gift of prophecy, and his brother's virtue. He had at that time four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for covering the tabernacle itself, the candlestick, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, either by the rain, or by the rising of the dust. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shekel for every man, as an oblation to God; which shekel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmæ. Whereupon they readily obeyed what Moses had commanded; and the number of the offerers was six hundred and five thousand, five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men that were free, was given by such as were above twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was collected was spent in the uses of the tabernacle.

3. MOSES

* It is well worth our observation, that the two principal qualifications required in this section, for the constitution of the first high priest, viz. that he should have an excellent *character*, for virtuous and good actions; and also that he should have the *approbation* of the people, are here noted by Josephus, even where the nomination belonged to God himself, which are the very same qualifications which the Christian religion requires in the choice of Christian bishops, priests, and deacons, as the apostolical Constitutions inform us, B. II. ch. iii.

† This weight and value of the Jewish shekel, in the days of Josephus, equal to about 2 s. 10 d. Sterling, is by the learned Jews owned to be one-fifth larger than were their old shekels: which determination agrees perfectly with the remaining shekels that have Samaritan inscriptions, coined generally by Simon the Maccabee, about 230 years before Josephus published his Antiquities, which never weigh more than 2 s. 4 d. halfpenny, and commonly but 2 s. 4 d. farthing. See Reland, *De Nummis Samaritanorum*, p. 188.

3. MOSES now purified the tabernacle, and the priests which purification was performed after the following manner. He commanded them to take five hundred shekels of choicest myrrh, an equal quantity of cassia, and half the foregoing weight of cinnamon, and calamus, (this last is a sort of sweet spice) to beat them small, and wet them with an hin of oil of olives, (an hin is our own country measure, and contains two Athenian choas, or congusses) then mix them together, and boil them, and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterward to take it to anoint and to purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were so many, and those of various kinds of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and such as were of very great price, and were brought to the golden altar of incense, whose nature I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers. But * incense was to be offered twice a-day, both before sun-rising and at sun-setting. They were also to keep oil already purified for the lamps; † three of which were to give light all day long, upon the sacred candlestick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted in the evening.

4. Now all was finished; Beseleel and Aholiah appeared to be the most skilful of the workmen; for they invented finer works than what others had done before them, and were of great abilities to gain notions of what they were formerly ignorant of; and of these Beseleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year, on the month Xanthicus, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, on the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

5. Now God shewed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labours to be in vain.

* The incense was here offered; according to Josephus's opinion, before sun-rising, and at sun-setting. But in the days of Pompey, according to the same Josephus, the sacrifices were offered in the morning and at the ninth hour. Antiq. B. XIV. ch. iv. § 3. vol. III.

† Hence we may correct the opinions of the modern Rabbins, who say, that only one of the seven lamps burned in the day-time, whereas our Josephus, an eye-witness, says they were three.

did he
came an
in the
me to it
the taberna
rep and t
so thin
rough it,
shewed
ved it.

6. Now
the wo
brought f
tabernacle
d of the
that we d
ces; and
offer a
permits us
es had sp
with the
them wit

priests. A
garments
tabernacle
first ince
rams, fla
the eight
manded
ordingly
ous to ex
and so f
upon th
of its ov
thash of
altar.

7. H
man an
tude; f
and he
God's
the tw

the priest did he disdain to make use of what they had made, but came and sojourned with them, and pitched his tabernacle in the holy house. And in the following manner did he come to it : The sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet so thin as one as men might be able to discern any thing through it, but from it there dropped a sweet dew, and such shewed the presence of God to those that desired and believed it.

6. Now when Moses had bestowed such honorary presents on the workmen, as it was fit they should receive, who had wrought so well, he offered sacrifices in the open court of the tabernacle, as God commanded him, a bull, a ram, and a kid of the goats, for a sin-offering. Now I shall speak of what we do in our sacred offices in my discourse about sacrifices; and therein shall inform men in what cases Moses bid us offer a whole burnt-offering, and in what cases the law permits us to partake of them as of food. And when Moses had sprinkled Aaron's vestments himself, and his sons, with the blood of the beasts that were slain, and had purified them with spring waters, and ointment, they became God's priests. After this manner did he consecrate them, and their garments for seven days together. The same he did to the tabernacle, and the vessels thereto belonging, both with oil first incensed, as I said, and with the blood of bulls, and of rams, slain day by day one, according to its kind. But on the eighth day he appointed a feast for the people, and commanded them to offer sacrifice according to their ability. Accordingly they contended one with another, and were ambitious to exceed each other in the sacrifices which they brought, and so fulfilled Moses's injunctions. But as the sacrifices lay upon the altar, a sudden fire was kindled from among them, of its own accord, and appeared to the sight like fire from a flash of lightning, and consumed whatsoever was upon the altar.

7. HEREUPON an affliction befel Aaron, considered as a man and a father, but was undergone by him with true fortitude; for he had indeed a firmness of soul in such accidents, and he thought this calamity came upon him according to God's will: For whereas he had four sons, as I said before, the two elder of them, Nadab and Abihu, did not bring those

those sacrifices which Moses bad them bring, but which they used to offer formerly, and were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, no body could quench it. Accordingly they died in this manner. And Moses bid their father, and their brethren, to take their bodies to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them magnificently. Now the multitude lamented them, and were deeply affected at this their death, which so unexpectedly befel them. But Moses intreated their brethren, and their father, not to be troubled for them, and to prefer the honour of God, before their grief about them; for Aaron had already put on his sacred garments.

8. But Moses refused all that honour which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and attended to nothing else but to the service of God. He went no more up mount Sinai; but he went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God to what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a private man; and in all other circumstances he behaved himself like one of the common people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing else but take care of them. He also set down in writing the form of their government, and those laws, by obedience whereof they would lead their lives so as to please God, and so as to have no quarrels one among another. However, the laws he ordained were such as God suggested to him: So I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws.

9. I WILL NOW treat of what I before omitted, the government of the high priest: For he [Moses] left no room for the evil practices of [false] prophets: but if some of that sort should attempt to abuse the divine authority, he * left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent. And he was willing this should be known, not to the Hebrews only, but to those foreigners also who were there. For as to those stones, † which we told

* Of this strange expression, that *Moses left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent*, see the note on B. II. against Apion, § 16. vol. VI.

† These answers by the oracle of *Urim and Thummim*, which words signify *light* and *perfection*, or, as the Septuagint render them *revelation* and *truth*, and denote nothing further, that I see, but the shining stones

Before, the high priest bare on his shoulders, which were onyxes (and I think it needless to describe their nature, they being known to every body), the one of them shined when God was present at their sacrifices, I mean that which was in the nature of a button on his right shoulder, eight rays darting out thence, and being seen even by those that were most remote; which splendour yet was not before natural to the stone. This has appeared a wonderful thing

ness themselves which were used in this method of illumination, in revealing the will of God, after a perfect and true manner, to his people Israel I say, these answers were not made by the shining of the precious stones, after an awkward manner, in the high priest's breast plate, as the modern Rabbins vainly suppose; for certainly the shining of the stones might precede or accompany the oracle without itself delivering that oracle, (See Antiq. B. VI. ch. vi. § 4. vol. II.), but rather by an audible voice from the mercy-seat between the cherubims. See Prideau's connect. at the year 534. This oracle had been silent, as Josephus here informs us, two hundred years before he wrote his Antiquities, or ever since the days of the last good high priest of the family of the Maccabees, John Hyrcanus. Now it is here very well worth our observation, that the oracle before us was that by which God appeared to be present with, and gave directions to his people Israel as their King, all the while they submitted to him in that capacity; and did not set over them such dependent kings as governed according to their own wills and political maxims, instead of divine directions. Accordingly we meet with this oracle (besides angelic and prophetic admonitions), all along from the days of Moses and Joshua to the anointing of Saul, the first of the succession of kings, Numb. xxvii. 21. Jos. vi. 6, &c. xix. 50. Judg. i. 1. viii. 4, 5, 6, 30, 31. xx. 18, 23, 26, 27, 28, xxi. 1, &c. 1 Sam. i. 17, 18, iii. per tot. iv. per tot. nay till Saul's rejection of the divine commands in the war with Amalek, when he took upon him to act as he thought fit, 1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18, 19, 36, 37, then this oracle left Saul entirely, which indeed he had seldom consulted before, 1 Sam. xiv. 35. 1 Chron. xiv. 3. Antiq. B. VII. ch. iv. § 2. vol. II.), and accompanied David, who was anointed to succeed him, and who consulted God by the oracle frequently, and complied with its directions constantly, 1 Sam. xiv. 37, 41. xv. 26, xxii. 13, 15. xxiii. 9, 10. xxx. 7, 8, 18. 2 Sam. ii. 14. v. 19, 23, xxi. 1. xxiii. 14. 1 Chron. xiv. 10, 14. Antiq. B. VI. ch. xii. § 4. vol. II. Saul indeed, long after his rejection by God, and when God had given him up to destruction for his disobedience, did once afterwards endeavour to consult God, when it was too late; but God would not then answer him, neither by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets, 1 Sam. xxviii. 6. Nor did any of David's successors the kings of Judah, that we know of, consult God by this oracle, till the very Babylonish captivity itself, when those kings were at an end, they taking upon them, I suppose, too much of despotic power and royalty, and too little owing the God of Israel for the supreme King of Israel, though a few of them consulted the prophets sometimes, and were answered by them.

to such as have not so far indulged themselves in philosophy as to despise *Divine Revelation*. Yet will I mention what is still more wonderful than this: For God declared before his hand, by those twelve stones which the high priest bare on his breast, and which were inserted into his breast-plate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that

At the return of the two tribes, without the return of kingly government, the restoration of this oracle was expected, Neh. vii. 65. 1 Macc. iv. 46. xiv. 41. And indeed it may seem to have been restored for some time after the Babylonish captivity, at least in the days of that excellent high priest John Hyrcanus, whom Josephus esteems as a *King*, a *Priest*, and a *Prophet*; and who, he says, foretold several things that came to pass accordingly: but about the time of his death, here implies, that this oracle quite ceased, and not before. The following high priests now putting diadems on their heads, and ruling according to their own will, and by their own authority, like the other kings of the Pagan countries about them; so that while the God of Israel was allowed to be the supreme King of Israel, and his directions to be the authentic guides, God gave them such directions, as their supreme King and governor; and they were properly under a *theocracy*, by this oracle of *Urim*, but no longer, (see Dr. Bernard's notes here) though I confess I cannot but esteem the high priest Jaddus's divine dream, Antiq. B. XI. ch. viii. § 4. vol. II. and the high priest Caiaphas's most remarkable prophecy, John xi. 47,--52. as two small remains or specimens of this ancient oracle, which properly belonged to the Jewish high priests: Nor perhaps ought we entirely to forget that eminent prophetic dream of our Josephus himself, (one next to an high priest, as was the family of the Asamoneans or Maccabees), as to the succession of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire, and that in the days of Nero, and before either Galba, Otho, or Vitellius, were thought of to succeed him. Of the war, B. III. ch. viii. § 9. vol. V. This I think may well be looked on as the very last instance of any thing like the prophetic *Urim* among the Jewish nation, and just preceded their fatal dissolution: But how it could possibly come to pass, that such great men as Sir John Marston, and Dr. Spenser, should imagine that this oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*, with other practices as old or older than the laws of Moses, should have been ordained in *imitation* of somewhat like those among the Egyptians, which we never hear of till the days of Diodorus Siculus, *Alian*, and Maimonides, or little earlier than the Christian *Æra* at the highest, is almost unaccountable; while the main business of the law of Moses was evidently to *preserve* the Israelites from the idolatrous and superstitious practices of the neighbouring Pagan nations; and while it is so undeniable, that the evidence for the great antiquity of Moses's law is incomparably beyond that for the like or greater antiquity of such customs in Egypt or other nations, which indeed is generally none at all, it is most absurd to derive any of Moses's laws from the *imitation* of those heathen practices. Such hypothesis demonstrates to us, how far *inclination* can prevail over *evidence*, in even some of the most learned part of mankind.

All the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance. Whence it came to pass that those Greeks, who had a veneration for our laws, because they could not possibly contradict this, called that breast-plate *the Oracle*. Now this breast-plate, and this sardonix, left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God having been displeased at the transgression of his laws. Of which things we shall further discourse on a fitter opportunity; but I will now go on with my proposed narration.

10. The tabernacle being now consecrated, and a regular order being settled for the priests, the multitude judged that God now dwelt among them, and betook themselves to sacrifices, and praises to God, as being now delivered from all expectation of evils, and as entertaining an hopeful prospect of better times hereafter. They offered also gifts to God, some as common to the whole nation, and others as peculiar to themselves, and these tribe by tribe; for the heads of the tribes combined together, two by two, and brought a waggon and a yoke of oxen. These amounted to six, and they carried the tabernacle when they journeyed. Besides which, every head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger, and a spoon, of ten darics, full of incense. Now the charger and the bowl were of silver; and together they weighed two hundred shekels, but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels; and these were full of fine flour mingled with oil, such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices. They brought also a young bullock, and a ram with a lamb of a year old, for a whole burnt-offering; as also a goat, for the forgiveness of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes brought also other sacrifices, called *Peace-offerings*, for every day two bulls, and five rams, with lambs of a year old, and kids of the goats. These heads of tribes were twelve days in sacrificing, one sacrificing every day. Now Moses went no longer up to mount Sinai, but went into the tabernacle, and learned of God what they were to do, and what laws should be made; which laws were preferable to what have been devised by human understanding, and proved to be firmly observed for all time to come, as being believed to be the gift of God; insomuch, that the Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws, either as tempted in times of peace by luxury, or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I say no more

here concerning them, because I have resolved to compose another work concerning our laws.

C H A P. IX.

The nature of our offering sacrifices.

§ 1. I Will now however make mention of a few of our laws, which belong to purifications, and the like sacred offices, since I am accidentally come to this matter of sacrifices. These sacrifices were of two sorts: of those sorts one was offered for private persons, and the other for the people in general; and they are done in two different ways: In the one case what is slain is burnt, as a whole burnt-offering, whence that name is given to it: but the other is a thank-offering, and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I will speak of the former. Suppose a private man offer a burnt-offering, he must slay either a bull, a lamb, or a kid of the goats, and the two latter of the first year, though of bulls he is permitted to sacrifice those of a greater age; but all burnt-offerings are to be of males. When they are slain, the priests sprinkle the blood round about the altar; they then cleanse the bodies, and divide them into parts, and salt them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, while the pieces of wood are piled one upon another, and the fire is burning: they next cleanse the feet of the sacrifices, and the inwards, in an accurate manner, and so lay them to the rest to be purged by the fire, while the priests receive the hides. This is the way of offering a burnt-offering.

2. But those that offer thank-offerings, do indeed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as are unblemished, and above a year old; however, they may take either males or females. They also sprinkle the altar with their blood; but they lay upon the altar the kidneys, and the caul, and all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together with the rump of the lamb; then, giving the breast, and the right shoulder, to the priests, the offerers feast upon the remainder of the flesh for two days; and what remains they burn.

3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices, offer two pigeons, or turtle doves; the one of which is made a burnt-offering to God, the other they give as food for the priests. But we shall treat more accurately

particularly about the oblation of these creatures in our discourse concerning sacrifices. But if a person fall into sin by ignorance, he offers an ewe lamb, or female kid of the goats, of the same age; and the priests sprinkle the blood at the altar, not after the former manner, but at the corners of it. They also bring the kidneys, and the rest of the fat, together with the lobe of the liver, to the altar, while the priests bear away the hides, and the flesh, and spend it in the holy place * on the same day; for the law does not permit them to leave off until the morning. But if any one sin, and is conscious of it himself, but hath no body that can prove it upon him, he offers a ram, the law enjoining him so to do; the flesh of which the priests eat, as before, in the holy place, on the same day. And if the rulers offer sacrifices for their sins, they bring the same oblations that private men do; only they so far differ, that they are to bring for sacrifices a bull, or a kid of the goats, both males.

4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; for a lamb the measure of one tenth deal, for a ram two, and for a bull three. This they consecrate upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice, for a bull the half of an hin, and for a ram a third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equivalent to two Athenian chaos [or congiuses]. They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws an handful upon the altar as its first fruits, while the priests take the rest for their food, either boiled, or mingled with oil, but made into cakes of bread. But whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity be all burnt.

O 2

Now

* What Reland well observes here, out of Josephus, as compared with the law of Moses, Levit. vii. 15. (that the eating of the sacrifice the *same day* it was offered, seems to mean only before the morning of the next, although the latter part, *i. e.* the night, be in strictness part of the *next day*, according to the Jewish reckoning), is greatly to be observed upon other occasions also. The Jewish maxim, in such cases, it seems, is this, that *the day goes before the night*; and this appears to me to be the language both of the Old and New Testament. See also the note on Antiq. B. IV. ch. iv. § 4. and Reland's note on B. IV. ch. viii. § 25.

Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its dam ; and in other cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat offerings are consumed together with the animals that are sacrificed ; of which it is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the festivals ; and how each day of such festivals is to be observed.

§ 1. **T**HE law requires, that out of the public expences a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the beginning, and at the ending of the day ; but on the seventh day, which is called the *Sabbath*, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. At the new moon, they both perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins ; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

2. But on the seventh month, which the Macedonians call *Hyperberetæus*, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins.

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening ; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats ; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scape goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude ; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness, within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat was burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest, at his own charges ; which, when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often toward the [most] holy place, and about the golden altar : He also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the

the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high priest likewise presents a ram to God, as a burnt-offering.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses, so that we may reserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year: as also, that when we shall arrive at our own country, and come to that city that we should have then for our metropolis, because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank offerings, that we should then carry in our hands a branch of myrtle, and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the pomecitron. That the burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as an expiation for sins: and on the following days the same number of lambs, and of rams, with the kids of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day, till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats, for an expiation of sins. And this is the accustomed solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

5. In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called *Nisan*, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, (for on this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians), the law ordained, that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, and which was called the *Passover*: And so do we celebrate this passover in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein they feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, besides the kid of the goats, which is added to all the rest, for sins; for it is intended as a feast for the priest on every one of those days.

Now the law forbids us to sacrifice any animal at the same time with its dam ; and in other cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distempers, or for other occasions, in which meat offerings are consumed together with the animals that are sacrificed ; of which it is not lawful to leave any part till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the festivals ; and how each day of such festival is to be observed.

§ 1. THE law requires, that out of the public expence a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the beginning, and at the ending of the day ; but on the seventh day, which is called the *Sabbath*, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same manner. At the new moon, they both perform the daily sacrifices, and slay two bulls, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins ; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

2. But on the seventh month, which the Macedonians call *Hyperberetæus*, they make an addition to those already mentioned, and sacrifice a bull, a ram, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins.

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening ; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats ; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scape goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude ; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness, within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat was burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest, at his own charges ; which, when it was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often toward the [most] holy place, and about the golden altar : He also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the

at the same
the eighth
to appoint
which mean
that are fa
part till the
share.

each festival

experience
y day, a
out on the
two, and
oon, the
alls, with
s also, for
through

edonians
e already
lms, and

they fall
and two
for sins
the one
into the
for the
at into a
np, and
eaning
people,
when it
e, toge-
inkled
ement,
about
court,
ney set
the

the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar. The high priest likewise presents a ram to God, as a burnt-offering.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month, when the season of the year is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses, so that we reserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year: as so, that when we shall arrive at our own country, and come to that city that we should have then for our metropolis, because of the temple therein to be built, and keep a festival for eight days, and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice thank offerings, that we should then carry in our hands a branch of myrtle, and willow, and a bough of the palm-tree, with the addition of the pomecitron. That the burnt-offering on the first of those days was to be a sacrifice of thirteen bulls, and fourteen lambs, and fifteen rams, with the addition of a kid of the goats, as an expiation for sins: and on the following days the same number of lambs, and of rams, with the kids of the goats; but abating one of the bulls every day, till they amounted to seven only. On the eighth day all work was laid aside, and then, as we said before, they sacrificed to God a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a kid of the goats, for an expiation of sins. And this is the accustomed solemnity of the Hebrews, when they pitch their tabernacles.

5. In the month of Xanthicus, which is by us called *Nisan*, and is the beginning of our year, on the fourteenth day of the lunar month, when the sun is in Aries, (for on this month it was that we were delivered from bondage under the Egyptians), the law ordained, that we should every year slay that sacrifice which I before told you we slew when we came out of Egypt, and which was called the *Passover*: And so do we celebrate this passover in companies, leaving nothing of what we sacrifice till the day following. The feast of unleavened bread succeeds that of the passover, and falls on the fifteenth day of the month, and continues seven days, wherein they feed on unleavened bread; on every one of which days two bulls are killed, and one ram, and seven lambs. Now these lambs are entirely burnt, besides the kid of the goats, which is added to all the rest, for sins; for it is intended as a feast for the priest on every one of those days.

But on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth day of the month, they first partake of the fruit of the earth, for before that day they do not touch them. And while they suppose it proper to honour God, from whom they obtain this plentiful provision, in the first place, they offer the first fruits of their barley, and that in the manner following: They take an handful of the ears, and dry them, then beat them small, and purge the barley from the bran; they then bring one tenth deal to the altar, to God; and casting one handful of it upon the fire, they leave the rest for the use of the priests. And after this it is that they may publicly or privately reap their harvest. They also at this participation of the first fruits of the earth, sacrifice a lamb as a burnt-offering to God.

6. When a week of weeks has passed over after this sacrifice, (which weeks contain forty and nine days). on the fiftieth day, which is Pentecost, but is called by the Hebrews *Asartha*, which signifies *Pentecost*, they bring to God a loaf made of wheat flour, of two tenth deals, with leaven; and for sacrifices they bring two lambs: and when they have only presented them to God, they are made ready for supper for the priests; nor is it permitted to leave any thing of them till the day following. They also slay three bullocks for a burnt-offering, and two rams; and fourteen lambs, with two kids of the goats for sins; nor is there any one of the festivals but in it they offer burnt-offerings: They also allow themselves to rest on every one of them. Accordingly the law prescribes in them all what kinds they are to sacrifice; and how they are to rest entirely, and must slay sacrifices, in order to feast upon them.

7. However, out of the common charges baked bread, [was set on the table of shew-bread], without leaven, of twenty-four tenth deals of flour, for so much is spent upon this bread: Two heaps of these were baked; they were taken the day before the Sabbath, but were brought into the holy place on the morning of the Sabbath, and set upon the holy table, six on an heap, one loaf still standing over against another; where two golden cups full of frankincense were also set upon them, and there they remained till another Sabbath, and then other loaves were brought in their stead. while the loaves were given to the priests for their food, and the frankincense was burnt in that sacred fire wherein all their offerings

ings were
on the lo
high] prie
at twice
and ge
al of flou
ing, and
sifices I
ave prem
erning th

1. M

hem apa
aken fro
ually o
to them
ther cu
that they
had been

2. He
might be
tain fro
occasion
added,
our food
the entir
it to co
flesh of
the fat

3. I
ed with
into th
had th
he look

• W
City, an
nacle i
berse,

ings were burnt also; and so other frankincense was set on the loaves instead of what was there before. The high priest also, of his own charges, offered a sacrifice, and that twice every day. It was made of flour, mingled with oil, and gently baked by the fire; the quantity was one tenth of a ephah of flour; he brought the half of it to the fire in the morning, and the other half at night. The account of these sacrifices I shall give more accurately hereafter; but I think I have premised what for the present may be sufficient concerning them.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Purifications.

1. MOSES took out the tribe of Levi from communicating with the rest of the people, and set them apart to be an holy tribe; and purified them by water, taken from perpetual springs, and with such sacrifices as were usually offered to God on the like occasions. He delivered to them also the tabernacle, and the sacred vessels, and the other curtains which were made for covering the tabernacle, that they might minister under the conduct of the priests, who had been already consecrated to God.

2. He also determined concerning animals; which of them might be used for food, and which they were obliged to abstain from: Which matters, when this work shall give me occasion, shall be farther explained; and the causes shall be added, by which he was moved to allot some of them to be our food, and enjoined us to abstain from others. However, he entirely forbade us the use of blood for food, and esteemed it to contain the soul and spirit. He also forbade us to eat the flesh of an animal that died of itself; as also the caul, and the fat of goats, and sheep, and bulls.

3. He also ordered, that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a gonorrhœa, should not come into the * city: nay, he removed the women, when they had their natural purgations, till the seventh day; after which, he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again.

* We may here note, that Josephus frequently calls the camp the *City*; and the court of the Mosaic tabernacle a *Temple*, and the tabernacle itself an *Holy House*, with allusion to the later *city*, *temple*, and *holy house*, which he knew so well long afterwards.

again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this number of days is over; but if any continued longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs for a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purge by the fire, and for the other the priests take it for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifice who have had the gonorrhœa. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he goes down into cold water, he has the same privilege with those that have lawfully accompanied with their wives. And for the lepers, he suffered them not to come into the city at all, nor to live with any others, as if they were in effect dead persons; but if any one had obtained, by prayer to God, the recovery from that distemper, and had gained a healthful complexion again, such an one returned thanks to God, with several sorts of sacrifices: concerning which we will speak hereafter.

4. Whence one cannot but smile at those who say, that Moses was himself afflicted with the leprosy, when he fled out of Egypt; and that he became the conductor of those who on that account left that country, and led them into the land of Canaan: For had this been true, Moses would not have made these laws to his own dishonour, which indeed it was more likely he would have opposed, if others had endeavoured to introduce them; and this the rather, because there are lepers in many nations, who yet are in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth; and have had the privilege of entering into holy places and temples: So that nothing hindered, but if either Moses himself, or the multitude that was with him had been liable to such a misfortune, in the colour of his skin, he might have made laws about them for their credit and advantage, and have laid no manner of difficulty upon them. Accordingly it is a plain case, that it is out of violent prejudice only that they report these things about us. But Moses was pure from any such distemper; and lived with countrymen who were pure of it also, and thence made the laws which concerned others that had the distemper. He did this for the honour of God. But as to these matters, let every one consider them after what manner he pleases.

5. As

5. As to the women, when they have born a child, Moses forbade them to come into the temple, or touch the sacrifices, before forty days were over, supposing it be a boy ; if she hath born a girl, the law is that she cannot be admitted before twice that number of days be over. And when after the before mentioned time appointed for them, they perform their sacrifices, the priests distribute them before God.

6. But if any one suspect that his wife has been guilty of adultery, he was to bring a tenth deal of barley flour ; they then cast one handful to God, and gave the rest of it to the priests, for food. One of the priests set the woman at the gates that are turned towards the temple, and took the vail from her head, and wrote the name of God in parchment, and enjoined her to swear, that she had not at all injured her husband ; and to wish, that if she had violated her chastity, her right thigh might be put out of joint ; that her belly might swell, and that she might die thus : but that if her husband, by the violence of his affection, and of the jealousy which arose from it, had been rashly moved to this suspicion that she might bear a male child on the tenth month. Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment, and wrung the water into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple, if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it her to drink ; whereupon the woman, if she were unjustly accused, conceived with child, and brought it to perfection in her womb : But if she had broken her faith of wedlock to her husband, and had sworn falsely before God, she died in a reproachful manner ; her thigh fell off from her, and her belly swelled with a dropsy. And these are the ceremonies about sacrifices, and about the purification thereto belonging, which Moses provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them.

C H A P. XII.

Several Laws.

§ 1. **A**S for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it an happy thing that men should be wise in the affairs of wedlock ; and that it was profitable both to cities and families, that children should be known to be genuine. He also abhorred mens lying with their mothers,

as

as one of the greatest crimes; and the like for lying with the father's wife, and with aunts, and sisters, and son's wives, as all instances of abominable wickedness. He also forbade a man to lie with his wife when she was defiled by her natural purgation: and not to come near brute beasts, nor to approve of the lying with a male, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behaviour, he ordained death for their punishment.

2 As for the priests, he prescribed to them a * double degree of purity; for he restrained them in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating trades, and by keeping inns: as also a woman parted from her husband on any occasion whatsoever. Nay, he did not think it proper for the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he allowed that to the priests, but he permitted him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. Whence it is that the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near to their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead, but they are to be unblemished in all respects. He ordered, that the priests who had any blemish, should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversation, that it might be unblameable also. And on this account it is, that those who wear the sacerdotal garments are without spot, and eminent for their purity and sobriety: nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear † those garments. Moreover, they offer sacrifices that are entire, and have no defect whatsoever.

3. And

* These words of Josephus's are remarkable, that the lawgiver of the Jews required of the *priests a double degree of purity*, in comparison of that required of the *people*; of which he gives several instances immediately. It was for certain the case also among the first Christians, of the *clergy*, in comparison of the *laity*, as the apostolical constitutions and canons every where inform us.

† We must here note with Reland, that the precept given to the priests not drinking wine, while they wore the sacred garments, is equivalent to their abstinence from it all the while they ministered in the temple, because they then always, and then only, wore those sacred garments, which were laid up there from one time of ministration to another.

3. And truly Moses gave them all these precepts, being such as were observed during his own lifetime. But though he lived now in the wilderness, yet did he make provision how they might observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan : He gave then rest to the land from ploughing and planting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day ; and ordered, that then what grew of its own accord out of the earth should in common belong to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect between their own countrymen and foreigners : and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which in all are fifty years : And that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews the *Jubilee*. wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty ; which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws whose punishment was not capital, but they were punished by this method of slavery. This year also restores the land to its former possessors in the manner following : When the Jubilee is come, which name denotes *liberty*, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together, and make an estimate, on one hand, of the fruits gathered, and, on the other hand, of the expences laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered come to more than the expences laid out, he that sold it takes the land again ; but if the expences prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference that was wanting, and leaves the land to him ; and if the fruits received, and the expences laid out, prove equal to one another, the present possessor relinquishes it to the former owners. Moses would have the same law obtain as to those houses also which were sold in villages ; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city : for if he that sold it tendered the purchaser his money again within a year, he was forced to restore it ; but in case a whole year had intervened, the purchaser was to enjoy what he had bought. This was the constitution of the laws which Moses learned of God, when the camp lay under mount Sinai ; and this he delivered in writing to the Hebrews.

4. Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take a review of the host, thinking it proper to settle the affairs of war. So he charged

ged the heads of the tribes, excepting the tribe of Levi, take an exact account of the number of those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites they were holy, and free from all such burdens. Now when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses took Manasseh, the son of Joseph, among the heads of the tribes; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed the desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

5. When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of the tribes pitching their tents on each side of it, and roads were cut through the midst of these tents. It was like a well-appointed market, and every thing was there ready for sale in due order; and all sorts of artificers were in the shops; and it resembled nothing so much as a city that sometimes was moveable, and sometimes fixed. The priests had the first places about the tabernacle; then the Levites, who, because their whole multitude was reckoned from thirty days old, were twenty-thousand eight hundred and eighty males. And during the time that the cloud stood over the tabernacle, they thought proper to stay in the same place, as supposing that God then inhabited among them; but when that removed, they journeyed also.

6. Moreover Moses was the inventor of the form of the trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this. In length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth; it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. Its sound was called in the Hebrew tongue *Alfoph*. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregation. When the first of them gave a signal, the heads of the tribes were to assemble, and consult about the affairs of them properly belonging; but when they gave the signal with both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order: At the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to remove; when the

second signal was given, those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and of six that followed, all the Levites assisting about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves into motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did so likewise. They also made use of these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar, as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the [festival] days. And now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the *Passover* in the wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

CHAP. XIII.

How Moses removed from mount Sinai, and conducted the people to the borders of the Canaanites.

I. A LITTLE while afterwards he rose up, and went from mount Sinai; and having passed through several mansions, of which we will speak anon, he came to a place called *Hazereth*, where the multitude began again to be mutinous, and to blame Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered in their travels; and that when he had persuaded them to leave a good land, they at once had lost that land, and instead of that happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being already in want of water; and if the manna should happen to fail, they must then utterly perish. Yet while they generally spake many and fore things against the man, there was one of them who exhorted them not to be unmindful of Moses, and of what great pains he had been at about their common safety; and not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and more mutinous against Moses than before. Hereupon Moses, although he were so basely abused by them, encouraged them in their despairing condition, and promised that he would procure them a great quantity of flesh meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days. This they were not willing to believe: and when one of them asked, Whence he could obtain such vast plenty of what he promised? he replied, Neither God, nor I, although we hear such opprobri-

ous words from you, will leave off our labours for you; and this shall soon appear also. As soon as ever he had said this, the whole camp was filled with quails, and they stood round about them, and gathered them in great numbers. However it was not long e'er God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, and those reproaches they had used towards him, for no small number of them died. And still to this day the place retains the memory of this destruction, and is named *Kibroth battaavah*, which is, *the graves of lust*.

C H A P. XIV.

How Moses sent some persons to search out the land of the Canaanites, and the largeness of their cities: and farther, that when those who were sent were returned, after forty days, and reported that they should not be a match for them, and extolled the strength of the Canaanites, the multitude were disturbed, and fell into despair; and were resolved to stone Moses, and to return back again into Egypt, and serve the Egyptians.

§ I. **W**HEN Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called *Paran*, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon us, liberty, and the possession of an happy country, the one of them ye already are partakers of, by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we now have our abode near the borders of the Canaanites, and nothing can hinder the acquisition of it, when we now at last are fallen upon it: I say, not only no king, nor city, but neither the whole race of mankind, if they were all gathered together, could do it. Let us therefore prepare ourselves for the work, for the Canaanites will not resign up their land to us without fighting, but it must be wrested from them by great struggles in war. Let us then send spies, who may take a view of the goodness of the land, and what strength it is of. But above all things, let us be of one mind; and let us honour God, who above all is our helper and assister."

2. WHEN

2. When Moses had said thus, the multitude required him with marks of respect: and chose twelve spies, of the most eminent men, one out of each tribe, who passing over all the land of Canaan, from the borders of Egypt, came to the city Hamath, and to mount Lebanon; and having learned the nature of the land, and of its inhabitants, they came home, having spent forty days in the whole work. They also brought with them of the fruits which the land bare: they also shewed them the excellency of those fruits, and gave an account of the great quantity of the good things that land afforded, which were motives to the multitude to go to war. But then they terrified them again with the great difficulty there was in obtaining it: that the rivers were so large and deep, that they could not be passed over; and that the hills were so high that they could not travel along for them; that the cities were strong with walls, and their firm fortifications round about them. They told them also, that they found at Hebron the posterity of the giants. Accordingly these spies, who had seen the land of Canaan, when they perceived that all these difficulties were greater there than they had met with since they came out of Egypt, they were affrighted at them themselves, and endeavoured to affright the multitude also.

3. So they supposed, from what they had heard, that it was impossible to get the possession of the country. And when the congregation was dissolved, they, their wives, and children, continued their lamentation, as if God would not indeed assist them, but only promised them fair. They also again blamed Moses, and made a clamour against him, and his brother Aaron the high priest. Accordingly they passed that night very ill, and with contumelious language against them; but in the morning they ran to a congregation, intending to stone Moses and Aaron, and so to return into Egypt.

4. But of the spies, there were Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, that were afraid of the consequence, and came into the midst of them, and stilled the multitude, and desired them to be of good courage; and neither to condemn God, as having told them lyes; neither to hearken to those who had affrighted them, by telling them what was not true concerning the Canaanites, but to those that encouraged them to hope for good success; and that they should gain possession of the happiness promised

promised them, because neither the height of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, could hinder men of true courage from attempting them, especially while God would take care of them before hand, and be assistant to them. Let us then go, said they, against our enemies, and have no suspicion of ill success, trusting in God to conduct us, and following those that are to be our leaders. Thus did these two exhort them, and endeavour to pacify the rage they were in. But Moses and Aaron fell on the ground, and besought God, not for their own deliverance, but that he would put a stop to what the people were unwarily doing, and would bring their minds to a quiet temper, which were now disordered by their present passion. The cloud also did now appear, and stood over the tabernacle, and declared to them the presence of God to be there.

C H A P. XV.

How Moses was displeased at this; and foretold, that God was angry, and that they should continue in the wilderness for forty years, and not [during that time] either return into Egypt, or take possession of Canaan.

§ I. **M**oses came now boldly to the multitude, and informed them, that God was moved at their abuse of him, and would inflict punishment upon them, not indeed such as they deserved for their sins, but such as parents inflict on their children, in order to their correction: For, he said, that when he was in the tabernacle, and was bewailing with tears that destruction which was coming upon them, God put him in mind what things he had done for them, and what benefits they had received from him, and yet how ungrateful they had been to him: that just now they had been induced by the timorousness of the spies to think that their words were truer than his own promise to them; and that on this account, though he would not indeed destroy them all, nor utterly exterminate their nation, which he had honoured more than any other part of mankind, yet he would not permit them to take possession of the land of Canaan, nor enjoy its happiness, but would make them wander in the wilderness, and live without a fixed habitation, and without a city, for forty years together, as a punishment for this their transgression; but that he hath promised to give that land t

ou

our children,
those good th
have deprived

2. When
to the direct
affliction; an
to God, and
derness, but
that God wo
was not mov
or anger, but
punishment.
was but a fin
they were i
temper; for
persuasions
disobedient
was disadva
by fallen in

3. But t
ful in maki
during the
one of the
ses were pr
thing that
to what la
in their t
strations t
there hav
phrates, a
at great
they had
sacrifices
the law t
fallen th
therewit
left thei
not able
went th
laws of
even w
convict

our children, and that he would make them the possessors of those good things, which, by your ungoverned passions, you have deprived yourselves of.

2. When Moses had discoursed thus to them, according to the direction of God, the multitude grieved, and were in affliction; and intreated Moses to procure their reconciliation to God, and to permit them no longer to wander in the wilderness, but to bestow cities upon them. But he replied, that God would not admit of any such trial for that God was not moved to this determination from any human levity, or anger, but that he had judiciously condemned them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve, that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness of temper; for God was with him, and prepared the way to his persuasions of the multitude; and as they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them, and that they had still thereby fallen into calamities.

3. But this man was admirable for his virtue, and powerful in making men give credit to what he delivered, not only during the time of his natural life, but even there is still no one of the Hebrews, who does not act even now, as if Moses were present, and ready to punish him, if he should do any thing that is indecent; nay, there is no one but is obedient to what laws he ordained, although they might be concealed in their transgressions. There are also many other demonstrations that his power was more than human: For still some there have been who have come from the parts beyond Euphrates, a journey of four months, through many dangers, and at great expences, in honour of our temple; and yet when they had offered their oblations, could not partake of their own sacrifices, because Moses had forbidden it, by somewhat in the law that did not permit them, or somewhat that had befallen them, which our ancient customs made inconsistent therewith: Some of these did not sacrifice at all, and others left their sacrifices in an imperfect condition, nay, many were not able even at first so much as to enter into the temple, but went their ways in this state, as preferring a submission to the laws of Moses, before the fulfilling of their own inclinations, even when they had no fear upon them that any body could convict them, but only out of a reverence to their own con-

science. Thus this legislation, which appeared to be divine, made this man to be esteemed as one superior to his own human nature. Nay farther, a little before the beginning of this war, when Claudius was emperor of the Romans, and Ismael was our high priest, and when so great a * famine was come upon us, that one tenth deal [of wheat] was sold for four drachmæ, and when no less than seventy cori of flour was brought into the temple, at the feast of unleavened bread, (these cori are thirty one Sicilian, but forty one Athenian medimni), not one of the priests were so hardy as to eat one crumb of it, even while so great a distress was on the land; and this out of a dread of the law, and of that wrath which God retains against acts of wickedness, even when no one can accuse the actors. Whence we are not to wonder at what was then done, while to this very day the writings left by Moses have so great a force, that even those that hate us do confess, that he who established this settlement was God, and that it was by the means of Moses, and of his virtue: But as to these matters, let every one take them as he thinks fit.

* This great famine in the days of Claudius, is again mentioned in *Antiq. B. XX. ch. ii. § 6. vol. VI. and Acts xi. 28.*

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

BOOK

Conta

From the re

The fight of t

I. Now t

and they we
orbidden the
they not be p
and to be c
eat their en
cused him, a
them in a di
in need of h
with the Can
ance, not ou
he took care
fathers, who
so. that it w
formerly pro
to them, no
also said, th
for the conq
a mind to a
their advan
joice in the
under the l
them, and
ing to his p

B O O K IV.

Containing the Interval of 38 Years.

*From the rejection of that Generation to the death of
MOSES.]*

C H A P. I.

*The fight of the Hebrews with the Canaanites, without the
consent of Moses, and their defeat.*

I. NOW this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet; but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, even without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said, that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses's intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said, that they were of themselves of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them: That however it was for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and live according to his pleasure, as though God did only foretel what concerns

cerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not a the posterity of Abraham, that God made him alone the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn from him: That it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he has promised them, and not to give ear to him, who, on this account, and under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering therefore the distressed state they were in at present, and that in those desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God their supreme commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

2. When therefore they had come to this resolution, and being best for them, they went among their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain; and the remainder of the army, upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued, and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon this unexpected misfortune made them quite despond; and they hoped for nothing that was good, as gathering from it, that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being affraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them, resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness to a farther distance from the Canaanites: So the multitude gave themselves up again to his conduct, for they were sensible, that without his care for them their affairs could not be in a good condition; and he caused the host to remove, and he went farther into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favourable opportunity.

*the sedition of
again/*

1. THAT v
and
leased, and g
or they being
on of their gr
ors, even in
usually angry
er, because
they then en
have not the
Barbarians, l
stroyed, but
would not re
by them. I
notwithstand
tor, and the
ments which
from those t
tial care, h
I will first
then will g
what settle
was over.

2. Cora
family and
and one th
saw that M
uneasy at i
same tribe
grieved, b
able post
him in hi
the Levit
mong his
" that th
" and pa
" should

C H A P. II.

The sedition of Corah, and of the multitude, against Moses, and against his brother, concerning the Priesthood.

1. **T**HAT which is usually the case of great armies, and especially upon ill success, to be hard to be pleased, and governed with difficulty, did now befall the Jews, for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry, both against one another, and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, as we have not the like example either among the Greeks or the Barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed, but were notwithstanding saved by Moses, who would not remember that he had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin, but notwithstanding the indignities they had offered their legislator, and the laws, and [their disobedience to] the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which, without his providential care, had been brought upon them by this sedition. So I will first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then will give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements Moses made for their government, after it was over.

2. Corah, an Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great dignity, and was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account, (he was of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him), was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honourable post on account of his great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his kindred, saying, "That it was a very sad thing
" that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after,
" and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts
" should obtain it, under the pretence of God's command,
" while

" while contrary to the laws, he had given the priesthood
 " to Aaron, not by the common suffrage of the multitude
 " but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a tyrannical
 " way on whom he pleased. He added, that this concealed
 " ed way of imposing on them was harder to be born, than
 " if it had been done by an open force upon them, because
 " he did now not only take away their power without their
 " consent, but even while they were unapprized of his con-
 " trivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to him-
 " self that he deserves any dignity, aims to get it by persua-
 " sion, and not by an arrogant method of violence; but
 " those that believe it impossible to obtain those honours just-
 " ly, they make a shew of goodness, and do not introduce
 " force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful.
 " That it was proper for the multitude to punish such men
 " even while they think themselves concealed in their designs,
 " and not suffer them to gain strength, till they have them-
 " selves for their open enemies. For what account, added he, is
 " Moses able to give why he has bestowed the priesthood on
 " Aaron, and his sons? for if God had determined to be-
 " stow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more
 " worthy of it than he is, I myself being equal to Moses by
 " my family, and superior to him both in riches, and in age.
 " But if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe,
 " that of Reuben might have it most justly; and then Da-
 " than, and Abiram, and [On the son of] Peleth, would
 " have it, for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and po-
 " tent on account of their great wealth also".

3. Now Corah, when he said this, had a mind to appear
 to take care of the public welfare, but in reality he was en-
 deavouring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the
 multitude to himself. Thus did he, out of a malignant de-
 sign, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own
 tribe; and when these words did gradually spread to more of
 the people, and when the hearers still added to what tended
 to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army
 was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah,
 there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal
 men also who were eager to have the priesthood taken away
 from Moses's brother, and to bring him into disgrace: Nay,
 the multitude themselves were provoked to be seditious, and
 attempted to stone Moses; and gathered themselves together
 after

* Reland
 hing of the
 ans, as wel

After an indecent manner, with confusion and disorder. And now they all were, in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him, who, under colour of the divine commands, laid violent injunctions upon them; for that had it been God, who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have produced such an one as was inferior to many others, nor have given him that office; and in that case he had judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and not have left it to be bestowed by his own brother.

4. Now although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calumny of Corah's, and had seen that the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; but being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as usual to Corah as he could; and being very skilful in making speeches, and having this natural talent among others, that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou, and all these with thee, (pointing to the two hundred and fifty men), seem to be worthy of this honour; nor do I pretend but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity, although they may not be so rich, or so great as you are: Nor have I taken and given this office to my brother, because he excelled others in riches, for thou exceedest * us both in the greatness of thy wealth; nor indeed because he was of an eminent family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal: nay, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have justly done; for certainly, unless I had bestowed this honour out of regard to God, and to his laws, I had not passed by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer
"intimacy

* Reland here takes notice, that although our Bibles say little or nothing of these riches of Corah, yet that both the Jews and Mohammedans, as well as Josephus, are full of it.

"intimacy with myself than I have with him ; for surely
 "would not be a wise thing for me, to expose myself to the
 "dangers of offending, and to bestow the happy employment
 "on this account upon another. But I am above such base
 "practices: Nor would God have overlooked this matter
 "and seen himself thus despised, nor would he have suffered
 "you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to
 "please him ; but he hath himself chosen one that is to per-
 "form that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from
 "that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to
 "give, but only according to the determination of God ;
 "therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as
 "please to put in for it, only desiring, that he who has been
 "already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be al-
 "lowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He pro-
 "fers your peace, and your living without sedition, to this
 "honourable employment, although in truth it was with your
 "approbation that he obtained it ; for though God were the
 "donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept
 "of it with your good will ; yet would it have been an in-
 "stance of impiety not to have taken that honourable em-
 "ployment when he offered it ; nay it had been exceedingly
 "unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should
 "have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and
 "firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself
 "will judge again who it shall be whom he would have to
 "offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of mat-
 "ters of religion ; for it is absurd that Corah, who is am-
 "bitious of this honour, should deprive God of the power
 "of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end therefore to
 "your sedition and disturbance on this account ; and to-mor-
 "row morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood
 "bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense
 "and fire : And do thou, O Corah, leave the judgment to
 "God, and await to see on which side he will give his de-
 "termination upon this occasion, but do not thou make thy-
 "self greater than God. Do thou also come, that this con-
 "test about this honourable employment may receive deter-
 "mination. And I suppose we may admit Aaron without
 "offence, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the
 "same lineage with thyself, and has done nothing in his
 "priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye there-

fore together
 the people ;
 shall accept
 be clear of
 granted him

How those things
 to the will
 be and his

1. WH
 the suspicion
 had said, for
 ed of the pe
 assembly. I
 tion, in ord
 mination th
 the priestho
 one, and th
 of what wa
 pleased if M
 wiser sort d
 sent disord
 this sedition
 would rath
 naturally c
 changing t
 disturb the
 gers for A
 the assemb
 be perform
 would not
 ses's beha
 practices.
 desired th
 to the fac
 at all to
 sition, but
 ciates, w
 the people
 " for

fore together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept, shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present calumny on Aaron, as if I had granted him that favour because he was my brother."

C H A P. III.

How those that stirred up this sedition were destroyed; according to the will of God; and how Aaron, Moses's brother, both he and his posterity, retained the priesthood.

1. **W**HEN Moses had said this, the multitude left off the turbulent behaviour they had indulged, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said, for those proposals were good, and were so esteemed of the people. At that time therefore they dissolved the assembly. But on the next day they came to the congregation, in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the determination that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and the multitude were in great suspense in expectation of what was to be done; for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of evil practices, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance; for they were afraid, that if this sedition went on, the good order of their settlement would rather be destroyed; but the whole body of people do naturally delight in clamours against their governors, and by changing their opinions upon the harangues of every speaker, disturb the public tranquillity. And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly, and wait there for the holy offices that were to be performed. But they answered the messenger, that they would not obey his summons; nay, would not overlook Moses's behaviour, who was growing too great for them by evil practices. Now when Moses heard of this their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the faction of Dathan, not thinking it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people: so they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan and his associates, when they understood that Moses, and the principal of the people were coming to them, they came out with their

wives and children. and stood before their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend themselves, in case Moses should use force against them.

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude; and said, "O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth, and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that it was thou that affordest us assistance when we attempted any thing, and shewedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses, do thou come now, and hear all that I say, for no action nor thought, escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they know them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things, which by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel my father-in-law, and I gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labours, at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now in order to their preservation; and have always shewed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now therefore, since I am suspected by those very men whose being is owing to my labours, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt: thou, I say, who shewedst me that fire at mount Sinai, and madest me to hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded me: thou who commandest me to go to Egypt, and declare thy will to this people: thou who disturbedst the happy estate of the Egyptians, and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from our slavery under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion: thou who didst make the sea dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for us: thou who

didst
didst

didst bestow
were naked
corrupted
furnish us
we were in
serve our
sea, when
didst send
seen before
of thy law
thou, I say
judge and
how I ha
any of th
man that
that was
monweal
of a thin
given th
out of m
strate, th
and that
thy will
that th
Hebrew
Abiran
being,
thou do
men, v
take th
but so
of oth
open a
and g
all m
struck
ment
serva
the c
thou
all t
then

“didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we
“were naked: thou who didst make the fountains that were
“corrupted to flow so as to be fit for drinking, and didst
“furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when
“we were in the greatest want of it: thou who didst pre-
“serve our lives with [quails], which was food from the
“sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us: thou who
“didst send us such food from heaven, as had never been
“seen before: thou who didst suggest to us the knowledge
“of thy laws, and appoint us a form of government: come
“thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a
“judge and a witness to me as cannot be bribed, and shew
“how I have never admitted of any gift against justice from
“any of the Hebrews; and have never condemned a poor
“man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one
“that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this com-
“monwealth. I am now here present, and am suspected
“of a thing the remotest from my intentions, as if I had
“given the priesthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but
“out of my own favour to him, do thou at this time demon-
“strate, that all things are administered by thy providence,
“and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by
“thy will, and thereby attains its end: as also demonstrate,
“that thou takest care of those that have done good to the
“Hebrews; demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of
“Abiram and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible
“being, and one overcome by my contrivances. This wilt
“thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these
“men, who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, as will
“take them out of the world, not in an ordinary manner,
“but so that it may appear they do not die after the manner
“of other men, let that ground on which they tread upon,
“open about them, and consume them with their families
“and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to
“all men; and this method of their sufferings will be an in-
“struction of wisdom for those that entertain profane senti-
“ments of thee. By this means I shall be found a good
“servant, in the precepts thou hast given by me. But if
“the calumnies they have raised against me be true, mayst
“thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring
“all that destruction on me which I have imprecated upon
“them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those

“that have endeavoured to deal unjustly with this people
 “bestow upon them concord and peace. Save this multitude
 “tude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them
 “free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment
 “ment of those that have sinned; for thou knowest thyself
 “it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men, the
 “whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment.”

3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden; and the agitation that set it in motion was like that which the wind produces in waves of the sea. The people were all affrighted; and the ground that was about their tents sunk down. at the great noise, that terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the seditions into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any men had ever been seen there, the earth that had opened itself about them closing again, and becoming entire as it was before, insomuch, that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a demonstration of the power of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befel them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bare to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the people about Dathan as pestilent men, they thought they perished as such, and did not grieve for them.

4. And now Moses called for those that contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was most pleased with might be ordained to that function. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honoured by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled the others: Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in those censers of theirs which they brought with them, before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither in those eruptions out of the earth that are caused by subterraneous burnings, nor in such fires as arise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees

rubbing

rubbing one against another, had a terrible God; by whose commandment, he made every body else preserved, and that sent the Hereupon Moses was so serious that they came down to posture with it; and to put their censers as a memorial testimony, proposing that they might be as Aaron was, by the favour of God, and thus he afterward.

What happened

§ 1. How they became more worse was would never believing almost of God, would not without blame upon them, happened not were punished and that theirs, on

* It appears from Clement's Magnesian the Reuben say on the

rabbing one against another, but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose irruption on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were * destroyed, and this so entirely, that their very bodies left no remains behind them. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon Moses, after these men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgment might be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered, for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the priesthood by the favour of Moses, but by the public judgment of God: and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed the honour afterward.

CHAP. IV.

What happened to the Hebrews during thirty-eight years in the wilderness.

§ 1. **H**OWEVER, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time: For the men believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him, that God was so angry, and that this happened not so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as because Moses procured the punishment; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the divine worship;

Q3

* It appears here, and from the Samaritan Pentateuch, and, in effect, from the Psalmist, as also from the Apostolical constitutions, from Clement's first Epistle to the Corinthians, from Ignatius's Epistle to the Magnesians, and from Eusebius, that Corah was not swallowed up with the Reubenites, but burnt with the Levites, of his own tribe. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 64, 65.

ship; as also that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself had now given the priesthood to his brother firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him for no one else, to be sure, could now put in for it, since he must have seen those that first did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great intreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence, he called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they made for themselves, without opposing them, and this lest he should imbitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their * rods, with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them, and that he should receive the priesthood in whose rod God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses had received them in that they saw them still, but they also saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably. And thus God ordained him priest three several times; and he retained that honour without farther disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been

* Concerning these twelve rods of the twelve tribes of Israel, see St. Clement's account, much larger than that in our Bibles, 1 Epistle, § 43. as is Josephus's present account in some measure larger also.

* Grotius well as the gods.

been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

3. And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war, and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the divine worship, lest they should want, and seek after the necessaries of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limit of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tythe of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites, and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude; but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all peculiarly to the priests.

4. Accordingly he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tythe which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first fruits of the entire product of the ground; and that they should offer the first born of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they, and their entire families, may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those first born which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead; but for the first born of a man, five shekels: that they should also have the first fruits out of the shearing of the sheep; and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when any have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called *Nazarites*, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they * consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair for the priests, [to be thrown into the fire]. Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a *corban*, which denotes what the Greeks call a *gift*, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels,

* Grotius on Numb. vi. 18. takes notice, that the Greeks also, as well as the Jews, sometimes consecrated the hair of their heads to the gods.

shekels, if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man ; but any be too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival, but not for a religious one, they are obliged to bring the maw, and the cheek, [or breast] and the right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as he have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants [their sons], their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins ; for of those none but the males of the family of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day the were offered.

5. When Moses had made these constitutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together with the whole army, and came to the borders of Idumea. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country, and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from any injury. He desired him also, that he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions ; and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the King was not pleased with this ambassage from Moses : nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavour to force their passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who would not have him begin the war first ; and so he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about through the wilderness.

6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed * her fortieth year since she left Egypt, on † the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus.

* Josephus here uses this phrase, *when the fortieth year was completed*, for when it was begun ; as does St. Luke, *when the day of Pentecost was completed*, Acts ii. 1.

† Whether Miriam died, as Josephus's Greek copies imply, on the first day of the month, may be doubted, because the Latin copies say

they then made a public funeral for her, at a great expence. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call *Mount Moriah*; and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner: He brought an heifer, that had never been used to the plough, or to husbandry; that was complete in all its parts, and entirely of a red colour, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger, seven times, before the tabernacle of God; after this, the entire heifer was burnt at that place, together with its skin and entrails, and they threw cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When therefore any persons were defiled by a dead body, they put a little of these ashes into spring water, with hyssop, and dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes should come into their own land.

7. Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove and to march through the wilderness, and through Arabia. And when it came to a place whom the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called *Arce*, but has now the name of *Petra*, at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them, in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazer his son, whom the high priesthood belonged, because he was the younger brother, and died while the multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his wife, having lived in all an hundred and twenty and three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians *Hecatombæon*, by the Macedonians *Perseus*, but by the Hebrews *Abba*.

C H A P.

was on the *tenth*, and so say the Jewish calanders also, as Dr. Bernard shews us. It is said her sepulchre is still extant near Petra, the old capital city of Arabia Petrea, at this day; as also that of Aaron, not far

CHAP. V.

How Moses conquered Sihon and Og, kings of the Amorites, and destroyed their whole army, and then divided their land by lot to two tribes and an half of the Hebrews.

§ 1. THE people mourned for Aaron thirty days; and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, fell into the lake Asphaltitis, and became the limit between the land of the Moabites, and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men, with the good things it produces. Moses therefore sent messengers to Sihon, the king of this country, desiring that he would grant his army passage, upon what security he should please to require: he promised that he should be no way injured, neither as to the country which Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants, and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though he should desire to sell them their very water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle-array, and was preparing every thing in order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and determining to wean the Hebrews from their indolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former condition, (nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds), he enquired of God whether he would give him leave to fight? Which when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous and ready to proceed to fighting. Accordingly he encouraged the soldiers; and he desired of them that they would take the pleasure of fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then upon the receipt of this commission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armour, and set about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not now like to himself when the Hebrews were ready to attack him, but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had shewed themselves

be of good
they could not
Hebrews, but
more likely v
ended upon t
they reaped n
them; for as t
they immediat
broken their
them broke of
the Hebrews
the labours
liful in sling
ny thing else
ght armour
ertook their
d could not
d their bow
scaped the s
ore distresse
gainst them.
reatest num
a desire to
the Hebrews
that with d
er of them
Hebrews spo
and also whi
he army we
pon it, and
o way put a
estroyed.
morites, wh
eous in act
their land,
and naturall
outhern lin
ide, which
akes the ot
western cor
3. When
Gilead and

be of good courage, were then found to be timorous; so they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the Hebrews, but fled away. as thinking this would afford them more likely way for their escape than fighting, for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which yet they reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to them; for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest, and ran away to the cities. Now the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the labours they had already undergone; and being very skillful in slinging, and very dextrous in throwing of darts, or any thing else of that kind, and also having on nothing but light armour, which made them quick in the pursuit. they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings, and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter were sorely wounded, and these were more distressed with thirst than with any of those that fought against them. for it was the summer season, and when the greatest number of them were brought down to the river, out of a desire to drink; as also, when others fled away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them, so that what with darts, and what with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon also their king was slain. So the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took their prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it, and they took the enemies prisoners, for they could no way put a stop to them, since all the fighting men were destroyed. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in counsel, nor courageous in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembling an island, the river Arnon being its southern limit; the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which running into Jordan loses its own name, and makes the other, while Jordan itself runs along by it, on its western coast.

3. When matters were come to this state. Og, the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the Israelites. He brought an

an army with him, and came in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon. But though he found him already slain, he did he resolve still to come and fight the Hebrews, supposing he should be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valour; but failing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the battle and all his army was destroyed. So Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and over-ran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew their cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the great quantity of his wealth. Now Og had very few equals, either in the largeness of his body, or handsomeness of his appearance. He was also a man of great activity, and the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the vast largeness, and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and magnitude when they took his bed at Rabbath, the royal city of the Ammonites; its structure was of iron its breadth four cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of farther good success to them; for they presently took those sixty cities which were encompassed with excellent walls, and had been subject to him, and all got both in general and in particular a great prey.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning Balaam the Prophet, and what kind of man he was

§ 1. Now Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho. This city is a very happy situation, and very fit for producing palm trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very proud of themselves, and were very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had offered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities. Now the occasion which he took for making war upon them was this that follows.

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who had

from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how greatly the Israelites were grown, he was much frightened on account of his own and his kingdom's danger; for he was not * acquainted with this, that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any farther. So he, with more haste than wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had had such prosperous successes, and even became out of ill successes more happy than before, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their honourable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to intreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses to the destruction of the Israelites. So Balaam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly; and when he had supped, he inquired what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites intreated him to come to them? But when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them, that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them, that God was opposite to his intentions, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions, for that this army, which they intreated him to come to curse, was in the favour of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites: And when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

VOL. I.

R

3. Now

* What Josephus here remarks, is well worth our remark in this place also, viz. that the Israelites were never to meddle with the Moabites, or Ammonites, or any other people, but those belonging to the land of Canaan, and the countries of Sihon and Og beyond Jordan, as far as the desert and Euphrates, and that therefore no other people had reason to fear the conquests of the Israelites; but that those countries, given them by God, were their proper and peculiar portion among the nations, and that all who endeavoured to dispossess them might ever be justly destroyed by them.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest instances, and fervent intreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam who desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was displeased at this * [second] trial, and bid him by no means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balaam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive him, so he went along with the ambassadors: But when the divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode, understood that it was a divine spirit that met him, and thrust Balaam to one of the walls, without regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass, upon the angel's continuance to distress her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, by the will of God she made use of the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam, as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault to find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass; and informed him, that the brute creature was not in fault, but that he was himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary

* Note, that Josephus never supposes Balaam to be an idolater, nor to seek idolatrous enchantments, or to prophesy falsely, but to be no other than an ill-disposed prophet of the true God; and intimates, that God's answer the second time, permitting him to go, was ironical, and on design that he should be deceived, (which sort of deception, by way of punishment for former crimes, Josephus never scruples to admit, as ever esteeming such wicked men justly and providentially deceived). But perhaps we had better keep here close to the text; which says Numb xxiii. 20, 21. that God only permitted Balaam to go along with the ambassadors, in case *they came and called him*, or positively insisted on his going along with them, on any terms: Whereas Balaam seems, out of impatience, to have *risen up in the morning and saddled his ass*, and rather to have *called them*, than stayed for their calling him; so zealous does he seem to have been for his reward of divination, his wages of unrighteousness. Numb. xii. 7, 17, 18, 37. 2 Pet. ii. 15. Jude, v. 11. which reward or wages the truly religious prophets of God never required, nor accepted, as our Josephus justly takes notice in the cases of Samuel, Antiq. B. V. ch. iv. § 1. vol. II. and Daniel, Antiq. B. X. ch. xi. § 3. See also Gen. xiv. 22, 23. 2 Kings v. 15, 16, 26, 27. and Acts viii. 18,—24.

rary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again, yet did God excite him to go on his intended way ; but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak ; and when the King had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant sixty furlongs from the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the King to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams ; to which desire the King did presently conform. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt offerings, that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he, " Happy is this people on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide ! so that there is not any nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness ; and will leave those rules to your excellent children, and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you, and it shall ever be under the command of your children ; and both all the earth, as well as the sea, shall be filled with your glory : and you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army ! wonder that you are become so many from one father : And truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you, as being yet comparatively few ; but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live as well in the islands, as on the continent, and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you, but will afford you an

“abundance of all good things in time of peace, with victory and dominion in time of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight against you; and may they be so hardy as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory; nor will their return be agreeable to their children and wives. To so great a degree of valour will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the affluence of some, and to supply the wants of others.”

5. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being by his own power, but moved to say what he did by the divine spirit. But when Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come, as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents; for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied, “O Balak, if thou rightly considerest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing when the spirit of God seizes upon us? for he puts such words as he pleases in our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. We well remember by what intreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me hither, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer, that I might not put any affront upon you, as to what you desired of me; but God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to serve you, for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he prevents us, and enters into us, nothing that we say is of our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do to their race, but since he was so favourable to them, and so ready to bestow upon them an happy life, and eternal glory, he suggested the declaration of those things to me. But now, because it is my desire to oblige thee thyself, as well as the Midianites, whose intreaties it is not decent for me to reject, go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before, that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to

bind these
agreed to, G
sent to his
face, and fo
kings of the
which of ol
have come
in the foreg
by sea and l
dictions tha
have their

6. But I
not cursed,
of any hon
journey, in
and for the
“O Balak
“I am obl
“you), it
“nation of
“nor by f
“ther une
“vidence
“a misfor
“upon the
“misfortu
“may app
“after the
“that bro
“have a
“of time.
“Do you
“daughte
“force an
“and the
“are abl

* Whether
all to curse
twice bef
probable,
other copie
present his

“bind

bind these men with curses." Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not even upon * second sacrifices consent to his cursing the Israelites. Then fell Balaam upon his face, and foretold what calamities would befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerned, both in the foregoing ages. and in this, till my own memory, both by sea and by land. From which completion of all these predictions that he made, one may easily guess that the rest will have their completions in time to come.

6. But Balak being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam without thinking him worthy of any honour. Whereupon, when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak, and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them: "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present, (for I am obliged, even without the will of God, to gratify you), it is true no entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin; for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune, nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish: but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them; but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought those mischiefs upon them. So that if you have a mind to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions: Do you therefore set out the handsomest of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree you are able: Then do you send them to be near the Israelites

R 3

" camp;

* Whether Josephus had in his copy but *two* attempts of Balaam in all to curse Israel, or whether by this his *twice offering sacrifice*, he meant *twice* beside that first time already mentioned, which yet is not very probable, cannot now be certainly determined. In the mean time, all other copies have *three* such attempts of Balaam to curse them in the present history.

“camp; and give them in charge, that when the young men
 “of the Hebrews desire their company, they allow it them;
 “and when they see that they are enamoured of them, let
 “them take their leaves, and if they entreat them to stay,
 “let them not give their consent till they have persuaded them
 “to leave off their obedience to their own laws, and the
 “worship of that God who established them, and to worship
 “the gods of the Midianites and Moabites, for by this means
 “God will be angry * at them.” Accordingly, when Balaam
 had suggested this council to them, he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, and
 Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew young men were allured
 by their beauty, and came to discourse with them, and besought
 them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny
 them their conversation. These daughters of the Midianites received
 their words gladly, and consented to it, and staid with them; but
 when they had brought them to be enamoured of them, and their
 inclinations to them were grown to ripeness, they began to think
 of departing from them, then it was that these men became greatly
 disconsolate at the womens departure, and they were urgent with
 them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there,
 and become their wives; and they promised them, they should be
 owned as mistresses of all they had. This they said with an oath;
 and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and
 this with tears in their eyes, and all other such marks of concern
 as might shew how miserable they thought themselves without
 them, and so might move their compassion for them. So the women,
 as soon as they perceived they had made them their slaves, and
 had caught them with their conversation, began to speak thus to
 them:

8. “O you illustrious young men! we have houses of
 “our own at home, and great plenty of good things there,
 “together with the natural affectionate love of our parents
 “and friends; nor is it out of our want of any such things
 “that we come to discourse with you, nor did we admit of
 “your

* This grand maxim, that *God's people of Israel could never be hurt, nor destroyed, but by drawing them to sin against God*, appears to be true, by the entire history of that people, both in the Bible, and in Josephus, and is often taken notice of in them both. See in particular a most remarkable Ammonite testimony to this purpose, Judith, v. 5,---21.

your invitation
 body for ga
 we agreed
 such hono
 say that yo
 when you
 your entre
 your good-
 be glad to
 are afraid
 and will t
 after an ig
 would exc
 But the you
 surance they
 they request
 If then, sa
 use of suc
 different
 food are p
 not com
 you woul
 worship o
 tion of th
 promise
 ship the
 complain
 worship
 while ou
 belong t
 must eithe

* What men, who c that their v implied the given them observed u gives us a under the in the wor whether G God, or by idolatry.

your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our body for gain, but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we might treat you with such honours as hospitality required : and now seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties ; and if we may receive such assurance of your good-will as we think can be alone sufficient, we will be glad to lead our lives with you as your wives, but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner ; and they desired that they would excuse them in their guarding against that danger." But the young men professed they would give them any assurance they should desire ; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. If then, said they, this be your resolution, since you make use of such * customs and conduct of life as are entirely different from all other men, insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do withal worship our Gods : Nor can there be any other demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have, and promise to have hereafter to us, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do ; for has any one reason to complain, that now you are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country ? especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to no body else but yourselves." So they said they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others

* What Josephus here puts into the mouths of these Midianite women, who came to entice the Israelites to lewdness and idolatry, viz. that their worship of the God of Israel, in opposition to their idol gods, implied their living according to the holy laws which the true God had given them by Moses, in opposition to those impure laws which were observed under their false gods, well deserves our consideration ; and gives us a substantial reason for the great concern that was ever shewed under the law of Moses, to preserve the Israelites from idolatry, and in the worship of the true God, it being of no less consequence then, whether God's people should be governed by the holy laws of the true God, or by the impure laws, derived from demons, under the Pagan idolatry.

others came into, or else they muſt look out for another world, wherein they may live by themſelves, according to their own laws.

9. Now the young men were induced by the fondneſs they had for theſe women, to think they ſpoke very well, ſo they gave themſelves up to what they perſuaded them, and transgreſſed their own laws; and ſuppoſing there were many gods, and reſolving that they would ſacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with theſe ſtrange food, and went on to do every thing that the women would have them do, though in contradiction to their own laws; ſo far indeed that this transgreſſion was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a ſedition that was much worſe than the former, and into danger of the entire abolition of their own inſtitutions; for when once the youth had taſted of theſe ſtrange cuſtoms, they went with inſatiable inclination into them; and even where ſome of the principal men were illuſtrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they alſo were corrupted together with the reſt.

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, accompanied with Cozbi, a Midianitiſh woman, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being deſired by his wife to diſregard the law of Moſes, and to follow thoſe ſhe was uſed to he complied with her, and this both by ſacrificing after a manner different from his own, and by taking a ſtranger to wife. When things were thus, Moſes was afraid that matters ſhould grow worſe, and called the people to a congregation, but then accuſed no body by name, as unwilling to drive thoſe into deſpair who, by lying concealed, might come to repentance; but he ſaid, That they did not do what was either worthy of themſelves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleaſure to God, and to the living according to his will: that it was fit they ſhould change their courſes, while their affairs were ſtill in a good ſtate; and think that to be true fortitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which reſiſts their luſts. And beſides that, he ſaid, it was not a reaſonable thing, when they had lived ſoberly in the wilderneſs, to act madly now they were in proſperity; and that they ought not to loſe, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had little." And ſo did he endeavour, by ſaying

ing this to correct the young men, to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, "Yes indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art so fond of, and hast, by accustoming thyself to them, made them firm; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known, that the Hebrews are not easily put upon; but thou shalt not have me one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto, but, under pretence of laws, and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of free men, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish according to his laws every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself; but thou thyself, better deserved to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him, and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest; and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayest rightly, a strange woman, and thou hearest what I do from myself as from one that is free, for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own, that I sacrifice to those gods to whom you do not think fit to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man: nor shall any one find cause to rejoice, who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any farther, or openly to contend with him, for he avoided that lest many should imitate the impudence of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude: upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the
mischievous

mischievous attempt had proceeded farther, if Zimri had not been first slain, which came to pass on the following occasion : Phineas, a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, (for he was the son of Eleazer the high priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses's brother), who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behaviour should grow stronger by impunity, and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding farther, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory; so he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also. Upon which all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a glorious action, imitated Phineas's boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly many of those that had transgressed perished by the magnanimous valour of those young men; the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them; so that all those their kindred, who instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly there perished out of the army no fewer than * fourteen [twenty-four] thousand at time.

13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites; concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first related what we have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because, although this Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by divine providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their

* The mistake in all Josephus's copies, Greek and Latin, which have here 14,000 instead of 24,000, is so flagrant, that our very learned editors, Bernard and Hudson, have put the latter number directly into the text. I choose rather to put it in brackets.

their wives, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions, yet did he do him great honour, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, their being no one that could be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honour to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

C H A P. VII.

How the Hebrews fought with the Midianites, and overcame them.

1. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes forementioned, in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their commander; of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment upon Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceived before hand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them, they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy's coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense multitude of the Midianites fell; nor could they be numbered, they were so very many: And among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz. Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is till now so called, by the whole Arabian nation, *Arecem*, from the name of the king that built it, but as by the Greeks called *Petra*. Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came back, bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey; fifty-two thousand beeves, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy,

wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also taken captive about * thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses parted the prey into parts, and gave one fiftieth part to Eleazar and the two priests. and another fiftieth part to the Levites and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour; and there being no misfortune that attended them, or hindered their enjoyment of their happiness.

2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should any time stand in need of such an one: and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the people should be committed. Now Joshua had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws, and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

3. At this time it was, that the two tribes of Gad, and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, abounded in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds of prosperity, whence they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses

* The slaughter of all the Midianite women, that had prostituted themselves to the lewd Israelites, and the preservation of those that had not been guilty therein; the last of which were no fewer than 32,000 both here, and Numb. xxxi. 15, 16, 17, 35, 40, 46. and both by the particular command of God, are highly remarkable; and shew, that even in nations otherwise, for their wickedness, doomed to destruction the innocent were sometimes particularly and providentially taken care of, and delivered from that destruction, which directly implies, that it was the wickedness of the nations of Canaan, and nothing else, that occasioned their excision. See Gen. xv. 16. 1. Sam. xv. 18, 33. Constitut. Apost. B. VIII. ch. xii. p. 402. In the first of which places the reason of the delay of the punishment of the Amorites is given, *because their iniquity was not yet full*. In the second, Saul is ordered to go and *destroy the sinners, the Amalekites*, plainly implying, that they were therefore to be destroyed because they were *sinners*, and not otherwise. In the third, the reason is given, why King Agag was not to be spared, *viz. because of his former cruelty, as thy sword hath made [the Hebrew women] childless, so shall thy mother be made childless among women of the Hebrews*. In the last place, the Apostles, or their amanuensis Clement, give this reason for the necessity of the coming of Christ, *that men had formerly perverted both the positive law, and that of nature, and had cast out of their mind the memory of the flood, the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughters of the inhabitants of Palestine*, as signs of most amazing impenitence, and insensibility under the punishments of horrid wickedness.

Moses to give the Amorites, was fruitful, supposing that and invent a excuse for avo and said, " cowardly ease, which obtain the were not ing hard promise, mies which land." angry with a just causelogy for the of their that the leave the thereby difficult That " will serve the bestow to of the they said: Joshua, and to possess that they things we session of into them else they their future 4. Mo be of the of which rily, and their ban whom the VOL. I

Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites, which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful, and good for feeding of cattle. But Moses supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle an handsome excuse for avoiding that war, he called them arrant cowards; and said, "They had only contrived a decent excuse for that cowardice, and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were labouring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have, and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those our enemies which God had shewed them, and so obtain their land." But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves; and said, That "it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expedit, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles." They added this also, That "when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children, and wives, and possessions, if he would bestow them upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army." Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said: So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen in the war, until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children, and their wives, and whatsoever else they had that might be an impediment to the labours of their future marches.

4. Moses also now built those ten cities, which were to be of the number of the forty-eight [for the Levites]; three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them: and he assigned the same time for their banishment with that of the life of that high priest under whom the slaughter and flight happened, after which death of

the high priest he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain may, by this law, kill the manslayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city to which he fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for this flight were these; Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Ramoth, of the land of Gilead; and Golan, in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses's command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasse came to Moses, and informed him, that there was an eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was *Zelophehad*, who left no male children, but left daughters; and asked him, Whether these daughters might inherit his land or not. He made this answer, That if they shall marry into their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

CHAP. VIII.

The polity settled by Moses; and how he disappeared from among mankind.

§ 1. **W**HEN forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Abila now stands, a place full of palm trees; and all the people being come together, he spake thus to them:

2. "O you Israelites and fellow-soldiers! who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey, since it is now the will of God, and the course of old age, at an hundred and twenty, requires it, that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or assistant to you in what remains to be done beyond Jordan, I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavours even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself, when you shall be in

"the fruit
"fore, let
"happy,
"of to you
"of the w
"you. bo
"done for
"the bod
"dren of
"mankind
"good th
"those of
"behave
"what I
"you wil
"by all
"cease to
"of the
"tain th
"be obe
"low.
"vernm
"disrega
"nor ch
"you w
"ing th
"by any
"you to
"to des
"of virt
"throug
"cipal
"ance
"other
"you m
"an un

* Jos
very long
and his
to be ha
children
THE FA
"the

"the fruition of great plenty and prosperity : Come there-
 "fore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be
 "happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession there-
 "of to your children after you, and then let me thus go out
 "of the world ; and I cannot but deserve to be believed by
 "you, both on account of the great things I have already
 "done for you, and because, when souls are about to leave
 "the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. O * chil-
 "dren of Israel ! *there is but one source of happiness for all*
 "*mankind, THE FAVOUR OF GOD,* for he alone is able to give
 "good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive
 "those of them that sin against him ; towards whom, if you
 "behave yourselves according to his will, and according to
 "what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort you to,
 "you will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired
 "by all men ; and will never come into misfortunes, nor
 "cease to be happy : you will then preserve the possession
 "of the good things you already have, and will quickly ob-
 "tain those that you at present are in want of, only do you
 "be obedient to those whom God would have you to fol-
 "low. Nor do you prefer any other constitution of go-
 "vernment before the laws now given you ; neither do you
 "disregard that way of divine worship which you now have,
 "nor change it for any other form : And if you do this,
 "you will be the most courageous of all men, in undergo-
 "ing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered
 "by any of your enemies ; for while God is present with
 "you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able
 "to despise the opposition of all mankind : and great rewards
 "of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue
 "through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the prin-
 "cipal and the first reward, and after that it bestows abund-
 "ance of others ; so that your exercise of virtue towards
 "other men will make your own lives happy, and render
 "you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you
 "an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings

S 2

" you

* Josephus here, in this one sentence, sums up his notion of Moses's
 very long and very serious exhortations in the book of Deuteronomy ;
 and his words are so true, and of such importance, that they deserve
 to be had in constant remembrance both by Jews and Christians : *O*
children of Israel ! there is but one source of happiness for all mankind,
 THE FAVOUR OF GOD.

" you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken and to
 " observe those laws which, by divine revelation, I have or
 " dained for you ; that is, in case you withal meditate upon
 " the wisdom that is in them. I am going from you myself
 " rejoicing in the good things you enjoy ; and I recommend
 " you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming or
 " der of your polity, and to the virtues of your command
 " ers, who will take care of what is for your advantage
 " And that God, who has been till now your leader, and
 " by whose good-will I have myself been useful to you, will
 " not put a period now to his providence over you, but as
 " long as you desire to have him your protector, in your pur
 " suits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you.
 " Your high priest also Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the
 " senate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and
 " suggest the best advices to you ; by following which advices
 " you will continue to be happy, to whom do you give ear,
 " without reluctance, as sensible that all such as know well
 " how to be governed, will also know how to govern, if
 " they be promoted to that authority themselves. And do
 " not you esteem liberty to consist in opposing such directions
 " as your governors think fit to give you for your practice,
 " as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else
 " but abusing your benefactors ; which error if you can a
 " void for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better
 " condition than they have hitherto been : Nor do you ever
 " indulge such a degree of passion in these matters, as you
 " have oftentimes done when you have been very angry at
 " me ; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of
 " death from you than from our enemies. What I now
 " put you in mind of is not done in order to reproach you,
 " for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the
 " world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to
 " leave you offended at me, since at the time, when I un
 " derwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you,
 " but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter, and to
 " teach you that this will be for your security ; I mean, that
 " you never be injurious to those that preside over you, even
 " when you are become rich, as you will be to a great de
 " gree when you have passed over Jordan, and are in posses
 " sion of the land of Canaan. Since when you shall have
 " once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a contempt and
 " disregard

" disregard
 " and whe
 " beaten i
 " taken aw
 " great re
 " ed over
 " both sea
 " perience
 " ber the
 " I would
 " to leave
 " quered
 " destroy
 " of their
 " titution
 " their al
 " have a
 " their v
 " safety
 " to you
 " tue, an
 " also on
 " of gov
 " observ
 " happy
 3. W
 the con
 which t
 ed with
 condu
 gers he
 their p
 upon t
 have a
 then t
 to inte
 said to
 in gri
 of the
 past t
 Howe
 them

“disregard of virtue, you will also forfeit the favour of God;
 “and when you have made him your enemy, you will be
 “beaten in war, and will have the land which you possess
 “taken away again from you by your enemies, and this with
 “great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scatter-
 “ed over the whole world, and will, as slaves, entirely fill
 “both sea and land: and when once you have had the ex-
 “perience of what I now say, you will repent, and remem-
 “ber the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Whence
 “I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws,
 “to leave none of your enemies alive when you have con-
 “quered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to
 “destroy them all, lest if you permit them to live, you taste
 “of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper in-
 “stitutions. I also do farther exhort you, to overthrow
 “their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they
 “have among them, and to burn all such their nation and
 “their very memory with fire, for by this means alone the
 “safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured
 “to you. And in order to prevent your ignorance of vir-
 “tue, and the degeneracy of your nature into vice, I have
 “also ordained you laws, by divine suggestion, and a form
 “of government, which are so good, that if you regularly
 “observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most
 “happy.”

3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws and
 the constitution of government written in a book. Upon
 which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touch-
 ed with the sense that they should have a great want of their
 conductor, because they remembered what a number of dan-
 gers he had passed through, and what care he had taken of
 their preservation; they desponded about what would come
 upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never
 have another governor like him; and feared that God would
 then take less care of them when Moses was gone, who used
 to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had
 said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were
 in grief on those accounts, insomuch, that the whole body
 of the people fell into tears with such bitterness, that it was
 past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction.
 However, Moses gave them some consolation; and by calling
 them off the thought how worthy he was of their weeping for

him, he exhorted them to keep to that form of government he had given them; and then the congregation was dissolved at that time.

4. Accordingly I shall now first describe this form of government, which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these Antiquities, what our original settlements were, and shall then proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are all still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us, only we shall so far innovate as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system, for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account, I have thought it necessary to premise this observation before hand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offence herein. Now that part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse one with another, I have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws, which I propose to myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan, and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterward determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan, and this situate in the most agreeable place for its goodness, and very eminent in itself, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself, by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random; which stones, when they are whited over with mortar, will have an handsome appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be * not by steps, but by an acclivity of raised earth.

* This law, both here and Exod. xx. 25, 26, of *not going up to God's altar by ladder steps*, but on acclivity, seems not to have belonged to the altar of the tabernacle, which was in all but three cubits high, Exod. xxvii. 1. nor to that of Ezekiel, which was expressly to be gone up to by

earth. And any other ci
Hebrews is

6. He tha
him hang up
ried in an ig

7. Let th
which the F
temple shall

give thanks
him for tho

this means,
other, by
good thing

the same in
each other
conversing

other, and
they do no
pear like

8. Let
that which
vites. Th

be used in
in the hol
fruits of t

be to the
9. You

woman w
any thing
fort none

by steps, x
altitude an

it is here
rod's tem
iv. 1. and

ples, and
steps, is o
decency o

the prief
and Tem
* The
as Lucian
old idola

earth. And let there be neither an altar, nor a temple, in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

6. He that blasphemeth God, let him be stoned; and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

7. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may entreat him for those they shall want hereafter; and let them, by this means, maintain a friendly correspondence with one another, by such meetings and feasting together, for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institutions of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing the memorials of this union, for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like mere strangers to one another.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to give to the priests and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess, so as may be to the honour of the donor.

9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the * hire of a woman which is an harlot, for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such abuses of nature; of which sort none can be worse than this prostitution of the body. In
like

by steps, xliii. 17. but rather to occasional altars of any considerable altitude and largeness; as also probably to Solomon's altar, to which it is here applied by Josephus, as well as to that in Zorobabel's and Herod's temple, which were, I think, all ten cubits high. See 2 Chron. iv. 1. and Antiq. B. VIII. ch. iii. § 7. vol. II. The reason why these temples, and these only, were to have this ascent on an acclivity, and not by steps, is obvious, that before the invention of stairs, such as we now use, decency could not be otherwise provided for in the loose garments which the priests wore, as the law required. See Lamy of the Tabernacle and Temple, p. 444.

* The hire of public or secret harlots was given to Venus in Syria, as Lucian informs us, p. 878. and against some such vile practice of the old idolaters this law seems to have been made.

like manner no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting, or in keeping sheep, and thence sacrifice to God.

10. Let no one † blaspheme those gods which other nations esteem such: Nor may any one steal what belongs to strange temples; nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

11. Let not any one of you wear a garment made of wool and linen, for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

12. When the multitude are assembled together unto the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon an high desk, where he may be heard, and let him read the ‡ laws to all the people: and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, no nor the servants neither; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out, for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the law have enjoined them. The laws also will have a great authority among them, as foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinting in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, that so there may always be written in their minds that intention of the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing that can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

13. Let every one commemorate before God the benefit which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day, both when the day begins, and when the hour of sleep comes on, gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future favours. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have

† The apostolical constitutions, B. II. ch. xxvi. § 31. expound this law of Moses, Exod. xxii. 28. *Thou shalt not revile or blaspheme the gods, or magistrates, which is a much more probable exposition than this of Josephus's, of heathen gods as here, and against Apion, B. II. ch. iii. § 4 vol. VI.*

‡ What book of the law was thus publicly read, see the note on Antiq. B. X. ch. v. § 5. vol. II. and 1 Efd. ix. 39—55.

have received
me rememb
bear on t
which declar
them, that
there consp
14. Let th
these such as
virtue and ri
 allotted him
en to judge
and let non
resent, nor
them, it bei
offices amon
wards God.
according a
that they h
an alledge
may appear
it that cau
gain, or to
should este
God will b
those, the
sentence;
that gratifi

* Wheth
here mentio
borders of t
I much qu
and the Ra
not the unv
ten law, w
understood
I remembe
or in the b
servations
significatio
of God by
† Here
of the Wa
small citie
dern Rabi
our Josep

have received from God upon their * doors ; and shew the remembrance of them on their arms : as also, they are to bear on their forehead, and their arm, those wonders which declare the power of God, and his good-will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear every where conspicuous about them.

14. Let there be seven men to judge † in every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honour ; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them, it being natural that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure mens fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can shew that they have taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can alledge any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear they have passed an unjust sentence ; for it is not that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the dignity of the suiters, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned the unjust sentence ; *for justice is the power of God*. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity supposes them more potent than

* Whether these phylacteries, and other Jewish memorials of the law here mentioned by Josephus, and by Moses, (besides the fringes on the borders of their garments, Numb. xv. 37.) were literally meant by God, is much question. That they have been long observed by the Pharisees, and the Rabbinical Jews, is certain : However, the Karaites, who receive not the unwritten traditions of the elders, but keep close to the written law, with Jerom and Grotius, think they were not literally to be understood ; as Bernard and Reland here take notice. Nor indeed do I remember, that either in the ancients books of the Old Testament, or in the books we call *Apocrypha*, there are any signs of such literal observations appearing among the Jews ; though their real or mystical signification, *i. e.* the constant remembrance and observation of the laws of God by Moses, be frequently inculcated in all the sacred writings.

† Here as well as elsewhere, § 38. of his Life, § 14 vol. IV. and of the War, B. II. ch. xx. § 5. vol. V. are but *seven* Judges appointed for small cities, instead of *twenty-three* in the modern Rabbins ; which modern Rabbins are always but of very little authority in comparison of our Josephus.

than God himself. But if these judges are unable to give just sentence, about the causes that come before them, (which case is not unfrequent in human affairs), let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the sanhedrim, determine as it shall seem good to them.

15. But let not a single witness be credited, but three, two at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of * women be admitted, on account of the levity and boldness of the sex. Nor let servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul, since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope of gain, or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have been a false witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he, against whom he bore witness, was to have suffered.

16. If a murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be not found, nor is there any suspicion upon one, if he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and reward proposed to any who will discover him: But if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase an heifer, and bring it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land plowed, or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer, then the priests, and Levites, and senate of that city shall take water, and wash their hands over the head of the heifer; and they shall openly declare, that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done themselves, nor been assisting to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid fact may any more be done in that land.

17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, the best constitution: and may you never have any inclination

* I have never observed elsewhere, that in the Jewish government women were not admitted as legal witnesses in courts of justice. None of our copies of the Pentateuch say a word of it. It is very probable however, that this was the exposition of the Scribes and Pharisees, and the practice of the Jews in the days of Josephus.

tion to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws for your governors, and govern all your actions according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you shall desire a king, let him be one of your own nation: let him be always careful of justice, and other virtues, perpetually: let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high priest, and the votes of the senators: let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your wellfare.

18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, neither our own, nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those land-marks away, which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself, to last for ever, since this going beyond limits, and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

19. He that plants a piece of land, whose trees produce fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first fruits to God, nor is he to make use of that fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season; for when nature has a force put upon her at an unseasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master's use; but let the owner gather all that is grown on the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him that has gathered it, carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

20. You are not to sow a piece of land with seed which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by plowing also. You are to plow your land with oxen; and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them, but to till your land with those beasts that are of the same kind with each other. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since nature does

does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in the own nature alike ; nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds to gender together ; for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kind to men, though it takes its first rise from evil practices about such smaller things. Nor is any thing to be allowed, by imitation whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even those may be managed after an unblamable manner.

21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also, but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessities of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order to their subsistence. In like manner, when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor : and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive trees, when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own ; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all, will not be so considerable to the owners, as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will provide, that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen, when they tread the ear of corn, in the threshing floor ; for it is not just to restrain our fellow labouring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labours. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have ; and this whether they be of your own country, or strangers, as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe ; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine presses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them ; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that desire it, to partake of the good things that come into the world according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these

these fruits, those that are lords of them. Nay, as given in as idly speaks to and men. not only to give to

by this means to the people, in order to their great for him that * forty stripes undergo the for a free as to lay a who have of those in are in the tained pleasure of God, to thy to sue

22. But you are to for the first tythe to that are as to the all unto that land a possession

Vo

* This was five
† Joseph
Deut. xii
year to p
Jerusalem,
fully con
captive
7, 8.

these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them; I mean, those that are Israelites, as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindred there is between them. Nay, let them desire men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men. not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous, by this means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly communicate out of their great superfluities to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with ^{*} forty stripes save one, by the public executioner; let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a free man, and this because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his own dignity; for it is proper for you who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt, and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty, by the like sympathy to such as stand in need of it.

22. Besides those two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals, you are to bring every third year a $\dagger$ third tythe to be distributed to those that want; to women also that are widows; and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all unto the temple; and when they have blessed God for that land which bare them, and which he had given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which

VOL. I

T

the

* This penalty of *forty stripes save one* here mentioned, and § 23. was five times inflicted on St. Paul himself by the Jews, 2 Cor. xi. 24.

† Josephus's plain and express interpretation of this law of Moses, Deut. xiv. 28, 29. xxvi. 12, &c. that the Jews were bound every third year to pay three tithes, that to the Levites, that for sacrifices at Jerusalem, and this for the indigent, the widow, and the orphans, is fully confirmed by the practice of good old Tobit, even when he was a captive at Assyria, against the opinion of the Rabbins, Tobit, ch. i. § 6 7, 8.

the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first fruits that are for the Levites, and for the festivals, and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land, and a large, and lets them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he has openly testified that he had fully paid the tithes [and other dues], according to the laws of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him; and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free, and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. Nor let free men marry slaves, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do, for it is decent, and for the dignity of the persons themselves, to govern those their affections. And farther, no one ought to marry an harlot, whose matrimonial oblations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterward find her so to be, let him bring his action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such * indications to prove his accusation as he is furnished withal; and let the father or the brother

* These *tokens of virginity*, as the Hebrew and Septuagint stile them, Deut. xxii. 15, 17, 20. seem to me very different from what our later interpreters suppose. They appear rather to have been such close linen garments as were never put off virgins, after a certain age, till they were married, but before witnesses, and which, while they were entire, were certain evidences of such virginity. See these Antiq. B. VII. ch. viii. § 1. vol. II. 2 Sam. xiii. 18. Isaiah vi. 1. Josephus here determines nothing what were these particular *tokens of virginity* or of *corruption*; perhaps he thought he could not easily describe them to the heathens, without saying what they might have thought a breach of modesty; which seeming breach of modesty laws cannot always wholly avoid.

* The Saviour put away

brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her; and let him not have any farther power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great occasions of suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife, in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father: But if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any one has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance, for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws, let not this be permitted; for it is unjust, that he who is the elder by birth, should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty, the man because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock, the woman because she was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted, either for pleasure, or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin not yet espoused, marry her; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for * any cause

T 2

whatsoever,

* These words of Josephus are very like those of the Pharisees to our Saviour upon this very subject, Matt. xix. 3. *Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?*

whatsoever, and many such causes happen among men, let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her or his wife any more, for by this means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given she is not to be permitted so to do: But if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her; and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and this will be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married to the next relations of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her, let the woman come before the senate, and protest openly that this brother will not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family, and to bear him children: And when the senate have inquired of him, for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason the matter must come to this issue, that the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and say, "He deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased". And then let him go away out of the senate, and bear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry to whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now, if any man take captive, either a virgin, or one that hath been * married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaven, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by this means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and matrimony; for it is good for him that takes a woman in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while

* Here it is supposed, that this captive's husband, if she were before a married woman, was dead before, or rather was slain in this very battle, otherwise it would have been adultery in him that married her.

while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient to prudent persons for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her go away whither she pleases, and have that privilege of a free woman.

24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them, or think themselves wiser than they, in the first place, let their parents admonish them in words, (for they are by nature of authority sufficient for becoming their judges), and let them say thus to them: "That they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both their stocks together, but that they might have children, to take care of them in their old age, and might by them have what they then should want." And say farther to him, "That when thou wast born we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee, and brought thee up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee to have given so many indications of thy contempt of us, reform thyself, and act more wisely for the time to come; considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with due returns from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment; of which punishment mayst thou never have the experience!" Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former errors deserved, for by this means the lawgiver will appear to be good, and parents happy, while they never behold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words, and instructions conveyed by them, in order to reclaim the man, appear to be useless, then the offender renders the laws implacable ene-

mies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be * brought forth, by these very parents, out of the city, with a multitude following him, and let him be stoned; and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And thus it is that we bury all whom the law condemn to die, upon any account whatsoever. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten or what is drunken, for it is not just to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think it thy gain, if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee; and withal that reward which will come to thee from God, for thy humanity towards him.

26. Those who have borrowed either silver, or any sort of fruits, whether dry or wet, I mean this, when the Jewish affairs shall by the blessing of God, be to their own mind, let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive them thence, if they shall want them again. But if they be without shame, and do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself, before judgment be given concerning it, but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that comes upon him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep, God himself naturally shewing mercy to the poor. It is also not lawful to take a millstone, nor any utensil thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtors may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withal, and lest they be undone by their necessity.

27. Let

* See Herod the Great, insilling on the execution of this law, with relation to two of his own sons, before the judges at Berytus, Antiq. B. XVI. ch. 11. § 2. vol. III.

27. Let
he that hat
any one kil
let him be
breaking in
pay four-fo
which let t
that he can
want to wh

28. If a
serve him
if he have
and if on a
tural affec
still, let h
bilee, whi
with him

29. If
quire aft
place wh
not think
other.

to have v
not prese
with him
what be

30. I
when in
vour to

31. I
not kno
we him
way.

32.
dumb.

33.
iron, l
flicting
when
let him
mitte
the sn

27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double. If any one kill a man that is stealing something out of his house let him be esteemed guiltless, although the man were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay four-fold what is lost, excepting the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay five-fold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay what mulct is laid upon him, be his servant to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free: But if he have a son by a woman servant, in his purchaser's house, and if on account of his good will to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of Jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, and let him then take away with him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

29. If any one find gold or silver in the road let him inquire after him that lost it, and make proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God, that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavour to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

31. It is also a duty to shew the roads to those who do not know them, and not to esteem it a matter for sport, when we hinder others advantages, by setting them in a wrong way.

32. In like manner let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him: But if when he is carried home he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him escape punishment; but if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expence for his cure, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time

time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman * miscarry, let him pay a fine in money. as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb; and let money also be given to the woman's husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable that life should go for life.

34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any † poison that may cause death, or any other harm; but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

35. He that maimeth any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, ‡ unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of it; for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate, unless he will be more severe.

36. Let him that is the owner of an ox which pusheth with his horn kill him: but if he pushes and gores any one in the threshing-floor, let him be put to death by stoning, and let him not be thought fit for food: But if his owner be convicted as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man servant, or a maid-servant, let him be stoned; and

* Philo and others appear to have understood this law, Exod. xxi. 22, 23. better than Josephus; who seems to allow, that though the infant in the mother's womb, even after the mother were quick, and so the infant had a rational soul, were killed by the stroke upon the mother, yet, if the mother escaped, the offender should only be fined, and not put to death; while the law seems rather to mean, that if the infant in that case be killed, though the mother escape, the offender must be put to death, and not only when the mother is killed, as Josephus understood it. It seems this was the exposition of the Pharisees in the days of Josephus.

† What we render a *witch*, according to our modern notions of *witchcraft*, Exod. xxii. 18. Philo and Josephus understood of a *poisoner*, or one who attempted, by secret and unlawful drugs or philtrea, to take away the senses or the lives of men.

‡ This permission of redeeming this penalty with money is not in our copies, Exod. xxi. 24; 25. Levit. xxiv. 20. Deut. xix. 21.

* We
for by J
of a bou

and let the owner of the ox * pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain: But if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other, and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide their price between them.

37. Let those that dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over them, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any persons from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them: But if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit, thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.

38. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing; and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether he be a man or a woman, no not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body, for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed: But if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any deceit of his own, lose what he was intrusted withal, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God, that nothing hath been lost willingly, or with a wicked intention, and that he hath not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received, after the same manner as in these trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wages to him instead of land, and other possessions; nay this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing

* We may here note, that 30 shekels, the price our Saviour was sold for by Judas to the Jews, Matt. xxvi. 15. xxvii. 3. was the old value of a bought servant, or slave, among that people.

willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate use of what he hath laboured for.

39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commiseration, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

40. Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be had in detestation; and do you avoid any conversation with them who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of the fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind: Let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they before hand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withal transfused that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to * geld either men, or any other animals.

41. Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace; and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance: And may that time never come which may innovate any thing, and change it for the contrary. But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either undesignedly, or intentionally, come let us make a few constitutions concerning them, that so being apprised before hand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circumstances. May you be a laborious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and thereby possess and inherit the land without wars, while neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so inflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary

* This law against castration, even of brutes, is said to be rigorous elsewhere, as to inflict death on him that does it, which seems only a Pharisaical interpretation in the days of Josephus of that law, Levit. xxi. 20. and xxii. 24. only we may hence observe, that the Jews could then have no oxen which are geld, but only bulls, and cows, in Judea.

ary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of, and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they be to you now in your own time, or hereafter in the times of your posterity, be done out of your own borders: But when you are about to go to war, send ambassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to make use of words to them before you come to your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with horses, and weapons, and above these, a God merciful to you, and ready to assist you, you do however desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be our gain, but what they will have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves. And if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust on their own strength, as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making use of God as your supreme commander, but ordaining for a lieutenant under him one that is of the greatest courage among you; for these different commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army, pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body, and hardiness of soul; but do you send away the timorous, part, lest they run away in the time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those that have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year's time; and to those that have planted them vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of their fruits, to continue in their own country; as well as those also who have betrothed or lately married them wives, lest they have such an affection for these things, that they be too sparing of their lives, and by reserving themselves for these enjoyments, they become voluntary cowards, [on account of their wives].

42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege, and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for

for the benefit of men ; and that if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you, because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you ; but preserve the others alive, that they may pay you tribute, excepting the nation of the Canaanites, for as to that people you must entirely destroy them.

43. Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

44. This was the form of political government which was left us by Moses. Moreover he had * already delivered laws in writing, in the fortieth year [after they came out of Egypt] ; concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now, on the following days, (for he called them to assemble continually), he delivered blessings to them, and curses upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should transgress the duties that were determined for them to observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse ; and left it to them in the holy book : it contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward. Agreeably whereto all things have happened all along, and do still happen to us ; and wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly he delivered these books to the † priests, with the ark ; into which he also put the ten commandments, written in two tables. He delivered to them the tabernacle also ; and exhorted the people, that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them for what mischief they did them when they were in the wilderness : and that when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizzim situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal

* These laws seem to be those above mentioned § 4. of this chapter.

† What laws were now delivered to the priests, see the note on Antiquities. B. III. ch. i. § 7.

* Of the mountain called the Old

on the left; and that the army should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites, and the priests. And that first, those that were upon mount Gerizim should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to them; while the other wished them all manner of happiness also: And when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings, and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses * upon the altar on each side of it; where he says also the people stood, and then sacrificed, and offered burnt offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any other sacrifice, for it was not lawful so to do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favour of their kindred, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred to these laws, and so might transgress them. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness: But that if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should still demonstrate, that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

VOL. I.

U

46. Moses

* Of the exact place where this altar was to be built, whether near mount Gerizim or mount Ebal, according to Josephus, see Essay on the Old Testament, p. 168,---171.

46. Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be the most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of * the stones [in the high priest's breast-plate] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars, and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him, That "if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries: their land should be full of weapons of war from their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt; that they should be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions; that they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them under their sufferings. Yet, said he, will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens with their temple also; and you shall lose these advantages not once only, but often."

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead on the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive, and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the contrivances I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on all occasions shewed himself favourable to us, or rather he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought

* Dr. Bernard well observes here, how unfortunate this neglect of consulting the *Urim* was to Joshua himself, in the case of the Gibeonites, who put a trick upon him, and ensnared him, together with the rest of the Jewish rulers, with a solemn oath to preserve them, contrary to his commission to extirpate all the Canaanites root and branch: which oath he and the other rulers never durst break. See Scripture Politics, p. 55, 56, and this snare they were brought into, because they did not ask counsel at the mouth of the Lord, Jos. ix. 14.

CHAP. VIII.
brought
me as a v
those m
which ac
which w
in order
behind r
honour
excellen
us, or w
flow up
is a terr
made to
displeas
neglect
hath gi
48. W
and had
tribes aft
multitud
beating
had whe
still mor
declared
tue, and
between
him.
protecto
future f
also bec
before
make a
the mu
for alt
be cast
it was
yet wh
Now a

* S
and as
fed ev
omite
gamar

brought them to an happy conclusion, by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and as a minister in those matters wherein he was willing to do you good : On which account I think it proper to bless that divine power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay that debt which I owe him, and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honour him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly, an human legislator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are affronted, and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you."

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall to every one of their tribes afterward, with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell into tears, in so much, that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue, and mighty deeds: and truly there seemed to be a strife between the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved, because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved, not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God, and the law of nature, yet what the people did, so overbore him that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish

U 2

out

* Since Josephus assures us here, as is most naturally to be supposed, and as the Septuagint gives the text, Deut. xxxiii. 6. that Moses blessed every one of the tribes of Israel, it is evident that Simeon was not omitted in his copy, as it unhappily now is, both in our Hebrew and Samaritan copies.

out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping; but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bid them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable: Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, to let him depart according as he himself desired, so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All those who accompanied him, were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called *Abarim*, (which is a very high mountain situate over against Jericho, and one that affords to such as are upon it a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan), he dismissed the senate; and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear lest they should venture to say, that because of his extraordinary virtue he went to God.

49. Now Moses lived in all one hundred and twenty years, a third part of which time, abating one month, he was the people's ruler: And he died on the last month of the year which is called by the Macedonians *Dysurus*, but by us *Adar*, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very grateful way of speaking, and addressing himself to the multitude: and as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days: Nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses; nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those also that perused the laws he left behind him had a strong desire after him, and by them gathered the extraordinary virtue he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses.

THE END OF THE FOURTH BOOK,

Con

[From

How Jos
with th
them, a

§ 1. W

the solen
finished,
manded
dition.
forces th
his camp
a proper
tribe of
and [th
had been
the Am

*The
Reland i
land bey
but mea
phus, as
from the
were dis
to inher
under th
clear ex
that tal
twelve

BOOK V.

Containing the Interval of 476 Years.

[From the Death of MOSES to the Death of ELL]

CHAP. I.

How Joshua, the commander of the Hebrews, made war with the Canaanites, and overcame them, and destroyed them, and divided their land by lot to the tribes of Israel.

§ 1. WHEN Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho, to discover what forces they had, and what were their intentions; but he put his camp in order, as intending soon to pass over Jordan at a proper season. And calling to him the rulers of the tribe of Reubel, and the governors of the tribe of Gad, and [the half tribe of] Manasseh, for half of this tribe had been permitted to have their habitation in the country of the Amorites, which was the * seventh part of the land of Canaan,

U 3

* The Amorites were one of the seven nations of Canaan: Hence Reland is willing to suppose, that Josephus did not here mean that their land beyond Jordan was a seventh part of the whole land of Canaan, but meant the Amorites as a seventh nation. His reason is, that Josephus, as well as our Bible, generally distinguish the land beyond Jordan from the land of Canaan: Nor can it be denied, that in strictness they were different; yet after two tribes and an half of the twelve tribes came to inherit it, it might, in a general way all together, be well included under the land of Canaan, or Palestine, or Judea; of which we have a clear example here before us in Josephus, whose words evidently imply, that taking the whole land of Canaan, or that inhabited by all the twelve tribes together, and parting it into seven parts, the part beyond Jordan

Canaan, he put them in mind what they had promised Moses; and he exhorted them, that for the sake of the care that Moses had taken of them, who had never been weary of taking pains for them, no not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves and readily perform what they had promised: So he took fifty thousand of them, who followed him, and he marched from Abila to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites: For at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city Jericho without disturbance and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only strangers, who used to be very curious in observing every thing in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which supper when they had done, and were considering how to get away, information was given to the King as he was at supper, that there were some persons come from the Hebrews camp to view the city as spies, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were very solicitous that they might not be discovered, so he sent immediately some to them, and commanded to catch them, and bring them to him, that he might examine them by torture, and learn what their business was there. As soon as Rahab understood that these messengers were coming, she hid the spies under stalks of flax, which were laid to dry on the top of her house; and said to the messengers that were sent by the King, that certain unknown strangers had supped with her a little before sun setting, and were gone away, who might easily be taken, if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the King: So these messengers being thus

Jordan was in quantity of ground one *seventh* part of the whole. And this well enough agrees to Roland's own map of that country, although this land beyond Jordan was so peculiarly fruitful, and good for pasture, as the two tribes and an half took notice, Numb. xxxii. 1, 4, 16. that it maintained about a *fifth* part of the whole people.

hus * delu
ent their
they imme
most proba
ularly wh
them; so
when the
and desire
ession of t
to make h
per what
f she had
escaped a
and so bi
ner, to pre
city, and
do, for so
miracles
knowled
done alro
only in v
that whe
taken, fl
of secur
fore her
Hebrew

* It p
Rahab's
what wa
commen
xi. 31. J
the Old
scruple t
as alio n
selves fr
direct f
otherwi
sephus
note on
woman
copies,
so frequ
lots, or
harlots
xi. 1. a

hus * deluded by the woman, and suspecting no imposition, sent their ways, without so much as searching the inn, but they immediately pursued them along those roads which they most probably supposed them to have gone, and those particularly which led to the river, but could hear no tidings of them; so they left off the pains of any farther pursuit. But when the tumult was over, Rahab brought the men down, and desired them, as soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power, to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger she had undergone for their sakes; for that if she had been caught concealing them she could not have escaped a terrible destruction, she and all her family with her, and so bid them to go home; and desired them to swear to her, to preserve her and her family, when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do, for so far she said she had been assured by those divine miracles of which she had been informed. So these spies acknowledged, that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and withal swore to requite her kindness, not only in words, but in deeds: But they gave her this advice, that when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods, and all her family, by way of security, in her inn, and to hang out scarlet threads before her doors, [or windows], that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm;

* It plainly appears by the history of these spies, and the innkeeper Rahab's deception of the king of Jericho's messengers, by telling them what was false, in order to save the lives of the spies, and yet the great commendation of her faith and good works in the New Testament, Heb. xi. 31. Jam. ii. 25. as well as by many other parallel examples both in the Old Testament, and in Josephus, that the best men did not then scruple to deceive those public enemies, who might justly be destroyed; as also might deceive ill men, in order to save life, and deliver themselves from the tyranny of their unjust oppressors, and this by telling direct falsehoods; I mean all this where no *oath* was demanded of them, otherwise they never durst venture on such a procedure. Nor was Josephus himself of any other opinion or practice, as I shall remark in the note on Antiq. B. IX. ch. iv. § 3. vol. II. And observe, that I still call this woman Rahab an *innkeeper*, not an *harlot*, the whole history both in our copies, and especially in Josephus, implying no more. It was indeed so frequent a thing, that women who were innkeepers were also harlots, or maintainers of harlots, that the word commonly used for real harlots was usually given them. See Dr. Bernard's note here, and Judg. xi. 1. and Antiq. P. V. ch. vii. § 8.

harm ; for, said they, we will inform him of this matter, because of the concern thou hast had to preserve us. But if any one of thy family fall in the battle do not thou blame us, and we beseech that God, by whom we have sworn, not to be displeased with us, as though we had broken our oath. So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and came and told their own people whatsoever they had done in their journey to this city. Joshua also told Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, who confirmed what had been sworn.

3. Now while Joshua the commander, was in fear about their passing over Jordan, for the river ran with a strong current, and could not be passed over with bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it hitherto, and while he suspected, that if he should attempt to make a bridge, that the enemies would not afford him time to perfect it, and for as much as they had none, God promised so to dispose of the river that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the army and the whole multitude to pass over in the manner following : The priests went first of all, having the ark with them, then went the Levites bearing the tabernacle and the vessels which belonged to the sacrifices, after which the entire multitude followed according to their tribes, having their children and their wives in the midst of them, and being afraid for them lest they should be born away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained, and the sand appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry it away by its force, so they all passed over the river without fear, finding it to be in the very same state as God had foretold he would put it in ; but the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the multitude should be passed over, and should get to the shore in safety ; and when all were gone over, the priests came out also, and permitted the current to run freely as it used to do before. Accordingly the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of it, arose again presently, and came to its own proper magnitude as before.

4. So the Hebrews went on farther fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Je-

richo :

cho: But Joshua built an altar of those stones, which all the heads of the tribes, at the command of the prophet, had taken out of the deep, to be afterwards a memorial of the division of the stream of this river, and upon it offered sacrifice to God; and in that place celebrated the passover, and had great plenty of all the things which they wanted hitherto, for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, which was now ripe, and took other things as prey, for then it was that their former food, which was manna, and of which they had eaten forty years, failed them.

5. Now while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept themselves quiet within their own walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them; so on the first day of the feast [of the passover], the priests carried the ark, round about which was some part of the armed men to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets; and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, with the senate following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And when they had done this for six days, on the seventh Joshua gathered the armed men, and all the people together, and told them this good tidings, that the city should now be taken, since God would on that day give it them, by the falling down of the walls, and this of their own accord, and without their labour. However, he charged them to kill every one they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies, either for weariness, or for pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and be thereby diverted from pursuing their enemies as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the silver and gold, that it might be set apart as first fruits unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having gotten them from the city they first took; only that they should save Rahab, and her kindred alive, because of the oath which the spies had sworn to her.

6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city: so they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the priests encouraging the people to be zealous in the work; and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the

the wall fell down, while no instruments of war, nor any other force, was applied to it by the Hebrews.

7. So they entered into Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, while they were affrighted at the surprising overthrow of the walls, and their courage was become useless; and they were not able to defend themselves; so they were slain, and their throats cut, some in the ways, and others caught in their houses; nothing afforded them assistance, but they all perished, even to the women and the children, and the city was filled with dead bodies, and not one person escaped. They also burnt the whole city, and the country about it; but they saved alive Rahab, with her family, who had fled to her inn. And when she was brought to him Joshua owned to her, that they owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies: So he said he would not appear to be behind her in his benefaction to her; whereupon he gave her certain lands immediately, and had her in great esteem ever afterwards.

8. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he overthrew it from the foundation; and he denounced a * curse against its inhabitants, if any one should desire to rebuild it, how upon his laying the foundation of the walls he should be deprived of his eldest son, and upon finishing it, he should lose his youngest son. But what happened hereupon, we shall speak of hereafter.

9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold, and besides those of brass also, that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own peculiar advantage: which spoils Joshua delivered to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

* Upon occasion of this devoting of Jericho to destruction and the exemplary punishment of Achar, who broke that *cherem* or *anathema*, and of the punishment of the future breaker of it, Hiel, 1 Kings xv. 34. as also of the punishment of Saul, for breaking the like *cherem* or *anathema* against the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. We may observe what was the true meaning of that law, Levit. xxvii. 29. *None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death* i. e. whenever any of the Jews public enemies had been, for their wickedness, solemnly devoted to destruction, according to the divine command, as were generally the seven wicked nations of Canaan, and those sinners the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 18. it was utterly unlawful to permit those enemies to be redeemed, but they were to be all utterly destroyed. See also Numb. xxi. 2, 3.

10. But

10. But [son] of Zelgarment weighed + case, that found, he in no need made a de in, as sup fellow sol

11. No called Gi had passe from the tians, an

12. N cho, Jos ty situat Ai, with their me very sad the rela those th their est believe land, an out loss unexpe

* Th pies, bu tions, E name i trouble but not is a kn Joshua Bernar + H ped ou shekels, shekels, Joshua + 1 tation

10. But there was one * *Achar*, the son [of Charmi, the son] of Zebedias, of the tribe of Judah, who finding a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed † two hundred shekels, and thinking it a very hard case, that what spoils he, by running some hazard, had found, he must give away, and offer it to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it, made a deep ditch in his own tent, and laid them up therein, as supposing he should not only be concealed from his fellow soldiers, but from God himself also.

11. Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called *Gilgal*, which denotes † *liberty*; for since now they had passed over Jordan, they looked on themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and in the wilderness.

12. Now a few days after the calamity that befel Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situate above Jericho. but upon the sight of the people of Ai, with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad, and exceeding disconsolate, not so much because of the relation the men that were destroyed bare to them, tho' those that were destroyed were all good men, and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised before hand, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies bold with success, so they put sackcloth

* That the name of this thief was not *Achan*, as in the common copies, but *Achar*, as here in Josephus, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. VII. ch. ii. and elsewhere, is evident by the allusion to that name in the curse of Joshua, *Why hast thou troubled us? The Lord shall trouble thee*, where the Hebrew words allude only to the name *Achar*, but not to *Achan*. Accordingly this valley of Achar, or Achor, was and is a known place, a little north of Gilgal, so called from the days of Joshua till this day. See Josh. vii. 26. Is. lxx. 10. Hos. ii. 15. and Dr. Bernard's notes here.

† Here Dr. Bernard very justly observes, that a few words are dropped out of Josephus's copies, on account of the repetition of the word *shekels*, and that it ought to be read thus, *A piece of gold that weighed 50 shekels, and one of silver that weighed 200 shekels*, as in our other copies, Joshua vii. 21.

† I agree here with Dr. Bernard, and approve of Josephus's interpretation of *Gilgal* for *liberty*. See Josh. v. 9.

sackcloth over their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least enquiry after food, but laid what had happened greatly to heart.

13. When Joshua saw the army so much afflicted, and possessed with forebodings of evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God, and said, "We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as tho' we thought ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons; but at the instigation of Moses thy servant for this purpose because thou hast promised us by many signs that thou wouldst give us this land for a possession, and that thou wouldst make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has already attended upon us agreeably to thy promises, but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some men out of our army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what thou hast promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our future expectation troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do thou, O Lord, free us from these suspicions, for thou art able to find a cure for these disorders by giving us victory, which will both take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our distrust as to what is to come."

14. These intercessions Joshua put up to God as he lay prostrate on his face: whereupon God answered him, "That he should rise up, and purify his host from the pollution which was got into it; that things consecrated to me have been impudently stolen from me; and that this has been the occasion why this defeat had happened to them; and that when they should search out and punish the offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies." This Joshua told the people: And calling for Eleazar the high priest; and the men in authority, he cast lots, tribe by tribe, and when the lot shewed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he then again proposed the lot to the several families thereto belonging, so the truth of this wicked action was found to belong to the family of Zachar; and when the enquiry was made man by man, they took Achar, who, upon God's reducing him to a terrible extremity, could not deny the fact: So he confessed the theft, and produced what he had taken in

in the mid
death; and
in a disgr
demned m

15. Wh
against Ai
the city, h
as they ad
former vic
means dre
posing tha
them, as t
former ba
about, an
the signa
excited t
the inhab
ing in pe
the gates
all that t
gainst hi
and mad
wards th
they saw
wives an
scattered
selves, b
this cal
great nu
immense
took he
a rich c
all thes

16.
rusalem
inhabit
the lik
did not
fed the
that h
but th
who w
Ver

in the midst of them, whereupon he was immediately put to death; and attained no more than to be buried in the night, in a disgraceful manner, and such as was suitable to a condemned malefactor.

15. WHEN Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai: And having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despised them, as though the case had been the same with that in the former battle, after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front: He then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, nay others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly these men took the city, and slew all that they met with; but Joshua forced those that came against him to come to a close fight, and discomfited them, and made them run away; and when they were driven towards the city, and thought it had not been touched, as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burnt, with their wives and children, they wandered about in the fields in a scattered condition, and were no way able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this calamity was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of other furniture. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country. So when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

16. But the Gibeonites, who inhabited very near to Jerusalem, when they saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho, and to those of Ai, and suspected that the like sore calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua, for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who made war that he might entirely destroy the nation of the Canaanites, but they invited the people of Cephirah and Kiriathjearim, who were their neighbours, to join in league with them; and

told them, that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them and seize upon them: So when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavour to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement to what they proposed, they sent ambassadors to Joshua to make a league of friendship with him, and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might, by this contrivance, avoid the danger, namely, by saying that they bore no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them, and they said farther, that they came a long way on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of the truth of what they said, they shewed him the habit they were in, for that their cloaths were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of time they had been in their journey, for indeed they took torn garments, on purpose that they might make him believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said, that they were sent by the people of Gibeon, and of the circumjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them, and this on such conditions as were customary among their forefathers; for when they understood, that, by the favour of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said, that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak; and shewing them the marks of their long journey, they intreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly Joshua believing what they said, that they were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, sware to them, that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men having obtained what they desired by deceiving the Israelites, went home; but when Joshua led his army to the country at the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites

dwelt not
 flock of the
 reproached
 they alledg
 way to save
 have recou
 and for the
 servants, t
 to them;
 the metho
 under the
 17. Bu
 Gibeonite
 kings of t
 war again
 which we
 ed that th
 not far fr
 of it, the
 their case
 but to sup
 destructio
 ship that
 with his
 night, in
 going up
 he follow
 hills. T
 derstood
 der and
 than usu

* Whe
 sun and m
 the diurn
 only appa
 onary lo
 parhelion
 complete
 than ord
 Philosoph
 thesis. I
 Jasher, n

dwelt

dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites, so he sent for their governors, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon him; but they alledged on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and for the senate, who thought it right to make them public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them; and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

17. But the King of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua, so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four, besides the King of Jerusalem, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them, for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those that came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship that was between them. Accordingly Joshua made haste with his whole army to assist them, and marching day and night, in the morning he fell upon the enemies as they were going up to the siege; and when he had discomfited them, he followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called *Beth boron*; where he also understood that God assisted him, which he declared by thunder and thunder-bolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover * it happened that the day was length-

X 2

ened

* Whether this lengthening of the day, by the standing still of the sun and moon, were physical and real, by the miraculous stoppage of the diurnal motion of the earth for about half a revolution, or whether only apparent, by ærial *phosphori* imitating the sun and moon as stationary so long, while clouds and the night hid the real ones, and this parhelion or mock sun affording sufficient light for Joshua's pursuit and complete victory, (which ærial *phosphori*, in other shapes, have been more than ordinarily common of late years), cannot now be determined: Philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to this latter hypothesis. In the mean time, the fact itself was mentioned in the book of Jasher, now lost, Josh. x. 13. and is confirmed by Isaiah xxviii. 21. by

Habaccuc,

ened, that the night might not come on too soon, and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies, insomuch, that Joshua took the kings, which were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now that the day was lengthened at this time, and was longer than ordinary, is expressed in the books * laid up in the temple.

18. These kings which made war with, and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and took their prey, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people of the courage of the Hebrews, and those that heard what a number of men were destroyed, were greatly affrighted at it: So the kings that lived about mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from Cadesh, which is itself also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots, so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself, and the Israelites; and they, instead of being full of hope of good success, were superstitiously timorous, with the great terror with which they were stricken. Whereupon God upbraided them with the fear they were in; and asked them, Whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them? and promised them that they should overcome their enemies; and withal charged them to make their enemies horses useless, and to burn their chariots. So Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and went out suddenly against the enemies, and after five days march he came upon them, and joined battle with them, and

Habaccuc, B. III. ch. xi. and by the father of Sirach, Eccles. xvi. 4. In the 18th Psalm of Solomon, ver. ult. it is also said of the luminaries, with relation, no doubt, to this and the like miraculous standing still and going back, in the days of Joshua and Hezekiah, *They have not wandered from the day that he created them; they have not forsaken their way from ancient generations, unless it were when God enjoined them [so to do] by the command of his servants.* See Authent. Rec. part I. p. 154.

* Of the books laid up in the temple, see the note on Antiq. B. III. ch. i. § 7.

and there was
could not
went on in t
army of the
fell in the b
be killed, Jo
and passed a
daring to m
their cities b

19. The
of the Cana
had retired
his camp to
macle in the
because of t
affairs woul
he went to
an altar wh
divide the
grizzim, and
tain the alt
the priests.
the [blessin
upon the a

20. And
the Canaan
they were
strength of
about, the
flood, seem
ing them,
them; for
ites came
busy all th
thered the
when they
observed t
had, and
as were w

* Of the

and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also went on in the pursuit a great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch, that when there wanted men to be killed, Joshua slew their horses, and burnt their chariots, and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle; but he still went on, taking their cities by siege, and again killing whatever he took.

19. The fifth year was now past, and there was not one of the Canaanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city Shiloh, for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its situation, until such time as their affairs would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem, together with all the people, and raised an altar where Moses had before hand directed; then did he divide the army, and placed one half of them on mount Gerizzim, and the other half on * mount Ebal, on which mountain the altar was: he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed, and denounced the [blessings and the] curses, and had left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easily to be taken, not only because they were situated in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, which being built round about, the natural strength of the places on which the cities stood, seemed capable of repelling their enemies from besieging them, and of making those enemies despair of taking them; for when the Canaanites had learned, that the Israelites came out of Egypt in order to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities strong: So he gathered the people together to a congregation at Shiloh; and when they, with great zeal and haste, were come thither, he observed to them what prosperous successes they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, and those such as were worthy of that God who enabled them to do those things,

X 3

things,

* Of the situation of this altar, see Essay on the Old Test. p. 170, 171.

things, and worthy of the virtue of those laws which they followed. He took notice also, that thirty-one of those kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and every army, how great soever it were, that confided in their own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed; so that not so much as any of their posterity remained. And as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in length of time, by long sieges, both on account of the strength of their walls, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them thereby, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that came along with them from beyond Jordan and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, and should have thanks for the pains they had taken together with them. As also, he thought it reasonable that they should send one man out of every tribe, and he such as had the testimony of extraordinary virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any fallacy or deceit should inform them of its real magnitude.

21. Now Joshua, when he had thus spoken to them, found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure their country, and sent with them some geometricians, who could not easily fail of knowing the truth, on account of their skill in that art. He also gave them a charge to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good; for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceeding fruitful, yet if it be compared with the fields about Jericho, and to those that belong to Jerusalem, will appear to be of no account at all. And although it so falls out that these people have but a very little of this sort of land, and that it is, for the main, mountainous also, yet does it not come behind other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty; for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than the largeness of its measure, it often happening that one acre of some sort of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, travelled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the seventh month came to

him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

22. So Joshua took both Eleazar, and the senate, and with them the heads of the tribes, and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, appointing the dimensions to be according to the largeness of each tribe. So when he had cast lots, Judah had assigned him by lot the upper part of Judea, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and its breadth extended to the lake of Sodom. Now in the lot of this tribe there were the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumea which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so, that its length reached from the river Jordan to the sea, but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel; and this lot was the narrowest of all, by reason of the goodness of the land, for it included Jericho, and the city of Jerusalem. The tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended in length from the river Jordan to Gezer, but in breadth as far as from Bethel, till it end at the great plain. The half tribe of Manasseh had the land from Jordan to the city Dora, but its breadth was at Bethshan, which is now called *Scythopolis*. And after these was Issachar, which had its limits in length mount Carmel and the river, but its limit in breadth was mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulun's lot included the land which lay as far as the lake of Genesareth, and that which belonged to Carmel and the sea. The tribe of Aser had that part which was called the *Valley*, for such it was, and all that part which lay over against Sidon. The city Arce belonged to their share, which is also named *Actipus*. The Naphthalites received the eastern parts, as far as the city of Damascus and the upper Galilee, unto mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan, which arise out of that mountain; that is, out of that part of it whose limits belong to the neighbouring city Arce. The Danites lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and were bounded by Azotus and Dora; as also they had all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

23. After this manner did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the name of the sons of Canaan, with their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and an half; for Moses had prevented him, and had already distributed the land of the Amorites,

morites, which itself was so called also from one of the four tribes of Canaan, to the two tribes and an half, as we have shewed already : But the parts about Sidon, as also those that belonged to the Arkites, and the Amathites, and the Aradianites, were not yet regularly disposed of.

24. But now was Joshua hindered by his age from executing what he intended to do, (as did those that succeeded him in the government, take little care of what was for the advantage of the public), so he gave it in charge to every tribe, to leave no remainder of the race of the Canaanites in the land, that had been divided to them by lot : that Moses had assured them before hand, and they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their own security, and their observation of their own laws, depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites, and three of these he assigned to those that fled from the man-slayers, who were to inhabit there ; for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were, of the tribe of Judah, Hebron, of that of Ephraim, Shechem, and of that of Naphtali, Cadesh, which is a place of the upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great, whereby they had an affluence of great riches, both all in general, and every one in particular ; and this of gold and of vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

25. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation ; and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan, for 50,000 of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them : “ Since that God, who is the Father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever ; and since you have with alacrity offered yourselves to assist us when we wanted that assistance on all occasions, according to his command, it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should trespass on your alacrity to help us no longer, that so, if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not tire you out so much now

“ 25

as may make you slower in assisting us another time. We therefore return you our thanks for the dangers you have undergone with us, and we do it not at this time only, but we shall always be thus disposed; and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them, and how you have put off the enjoyments of your own happiness for our sakes, and have laboured for what we have now, by the good will of God, obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us that assistance. However, you have, by joining your labour with ours, gotten great plenty of riches, and will carry home with you much prey, with gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our good-will towards you, and a mind willingly disposed to make a requital of your kindness to us in what case soever you shall desire it, for you have not omitted any thing which Moses before hand required of you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from you, so that there is nothing to diminish that gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your own inheritances; and we intreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation that is between us; and that you will not imagine, that because this river is interposed between us, that you are of a different race from us, and not Hebrews, for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of, which he has ordained, and are most carefully to observe, because, while you continue in those laws, God will also shew himself merciful and assisting to you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws, he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself stayed where he was, but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that without tears in their eyes; and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

26. Now when the tribe of Reubel, and that of Gad, and many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument.

a monument to posterity, and a sign of the relation to the
 that should inhabit on the other side. But when those on the
 other side heard that those who had been dismissed had built
 an altar, but did not hear with what intention they built
 but supposed it to be by way of innovation, and for the introduction
 of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve
 but thinking this defamatory report, as if it were built for
 vine worship, was credible, they appeared in arms, as though
 they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar
 and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them
 for their subversion of the laws of their country, for they did
 not think it fit to regard them on account of their kindred,
 the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard
 the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be
 worshipped, so these men put themselves in array for war: Phineas,
 and Eleazar the high priest, and the senate, restrained
 them; and persuaded them first to make trial by words
 of their intention, and afterwards, if they found that their
 intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon
 them. Accordingly they sent as ambassadors to them Phineas,
 the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were
 esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was
 their mind, when, upon passing over the river, they had
 built an altar upon its banks. But as soon as these ambassadors
 were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation
 was assembled, Phineas stood up and said, "The
 "the offence they had been guilty of was of too hainous
 "nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only
 "be amended for the future; yet that they did not so long
 "at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse
 "to arms, and to a battle for their punishment immediate
 "but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability
 "there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method
 "of sending an ambassage to them, that when we have learned
 "ed true reasons by which you have been moved to build
 "this altar, we may neither seem to have been too rashly
 "assaulting you by our weapons of war, if it prove that you
 "made the altar for justifiable reasons, and may then justly
 "punish you if the accusation prove true: for we can hardly
 "ly suppose that you, who have been acquainted with the
 "will of God, and have been hearers of those laws which
 "he himself hath given us, now you are separated from

HAP. I.

and gone to
 the grace
 you, have
 that ark,
 introduce
 of the Canaanites
 small crimes
 your madness
 mind the
 sins, we will
 but we will
 God also,
 suffering from
 like manna
 gine, that
 got out of
 in places
 run his people
 thereby:
 be any other
 thing need
 leaving to
 you will
 these new
 and wives
 such means
 safety, and
 therein
 be conquered
 and to
 27. When
 the assembly
 apology for
 of; and the
 relation
 way of in
 common
 which w
 fer their
 on account
 built for
 ment for

and gone to the patrimony of yours, which you, through the grace of God, and that providence he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark, and that altar which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime if you repent now, and proceed no farther in your madness, but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind the laws of your country; but if thou persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws, but we will pass over Jordan and defend them, and defend God also, and shall esteem of you as of men no way differing from the Canaanites, but shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroyed them; for do not you imagine, that because you are got over the river that you are got out of the reach of God's power; you are every where in places that belong to him, and impossible it is to overrun his power, and the punishment he will bring on men thereby: But if you think that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the feeding of sheep; but you will do well to return to your duty, and to leave off these new crimes: and we beseech you by your children, and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take therefore such measures in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your purpose, and to experience deeds and war therefor."

27. When Phineas had discoursed thus, the governors of the assembly, and the whole multitude, began to make an apology for themselves, concerning what they were accused of; and they said, "That they neither would depart from the relation they bare to them, nor had they built the altar by way of innovation: that they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrews, and that brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices: that as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, but that it might be a sign and a monument for our relation to you for ever, and necessary cau-
tion

"tion to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of
 "country, but not an handle for transgressing them, as y
 "suspect; and let God be our authentic witness, that t
 "was the occasion of our building this altar: Whence
 "beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not i
 "pute such a thing to us as would render any of the po
 "rity of Abraham well worthy of predition, in case they
 "tempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different fro
 "our usual practices."

28. When they had made this answer, and Phineas ha
 commended them for it, he came to Joshua, and explain
 before the people what answer they had received: now J
 shua was glad that he was under no necessity of setting the
 in array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war
 gainst men of their own kindred; and accordingly he offer
 sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same: So Joshua aft
 that dissolved this great assembly of the people, and sent the
 to their own inheritances, while he himself lived in Sheche
 But in the twentieth year after this, when he was very o
 he sent for those of the greatest dignity in the several citi
 with those in authority, and the senate, and as many of t
 common people as could be present; and when they we
 come, he put them in mind of all the benefits God had b
 stowed on them, which could not but be a great many, fin
 from a low estate they were advanced to so great a degr
 of glory and plenty; and exhorted them to take notice of t
 intentions of God, which had been so gracious towards them
 and told them, that the Deity would continue their frie
 by nothing else but their piety: and that it was proper f
 him, now he was about to depart out of this life, to lea
 such an admonition to them, and he desired that they wou
 keep in memory this his exhortation to them.

29. So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to the
 died, having lived an hundred and ten years; forty of whi
 he lived with Moses, in order to learn what might be for h
 advantage afterwards. He also became their commander a
 ter his death for twenty-five years. He was a man th
 wanted not wisdom, nor eloquence, to declare his intention
 to the people, but very eminent on both accounts. He w
 of great courage and magnanimity, in action and in danger
 and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, a
 of great virtue at all proper seasons. He was buried in t

city Timna
 time died F
 to his son F
 in the city

How, after
 ites tran
 great affli
 tribe of E
 men.

I. A FTE
 ph
 commit the
 his tribe f
 then the pe
 of God. T
 neon, but u
 VOL.

* Since no
 thorenensis, p
 latina, one a
 scription at T
 line by Joshu
 those exiles
 driven awa
 ee the note
 nenensis adds
 one of thos
 time into
 and that th
 tribe, as be
 † By proph
 and frequentl
 which the re
 John, who w
 made use of l
 ear, prophe
 nation only, b
 God that wen
 his was reve
 between the ch
 n, before or
 than the orac
 Antiq. B. III

city Timnah, of the tribe of Ephraim. * About the same time died Eleazar the high priest, leaving the high priesthood to his son Phineas. His monument also and sepulchre are in the city Gabatha.

CHAP. II.

How, after the death of Joshua their commander, the Israelites transgressed the laws of their country, and experienced great afflictions; and when there was a sedition arisen, the tribe of Benjamin was destroyed, excepting only six hundred men.

I. **A**FTER the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phineas prophesied, † that according to God's will they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites, for when the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon, but upon this condition, that when those that had been

VOL. I. Y tributary

* Since not only Procopius and Suidas, but an earlier author, Moses Chorenensis, p. 52, 53. and perhaps from his original author Mariba Latina, one as old as Alexander the Great, sets down the famous inscription at Tangier concerning the old Canaanites driven out of Palestine by Joshua, take it here in that author's own words: "We are those exiles that were governors of the Canaanites, but have been driven away by Joshua the robber, and are come to inhabit here." See the note there. Nor is it unworthy of our notice what Moses Chorenensis adds, p. 53. and this upon a diligent examination, viz. That one of those eminent men among the Canaanites came at the same time into Armenia, and founded the Genthunian family or tribe; and that this was confirmed by the manners of the same family or tribe, as being like those of the Canaanites."

† By *prophecy*, when spoken of an high priest, Josephus both here and frequently elsewhere, means no more than *consulting God by Urim*, which the reader is still to bear in mind upon all occasions. And if St. John, who was contemporary with Josephus, and of the same country, made use of his style, when he says, that *Caiphas being high priest that year, prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that also he should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad*, xi. 51, 52. he may possibly mean, that this was revealed to the high priest by an extraordinary voice from between the cherubims, when he had his breast-plate or *Urim and Thummim* in, before or in the most holy place of the temple, which was no other than the oracle of *Urim and Thummim*. Of which above in the note on Antiq. B. III. ch. viii. § 9.

tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition, and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek, having put the government into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes the *Lord of Bezek*, for Adoni in the Hebrew tongue is called *Lord*. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua was dead: But when the Israelites had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes before-mentioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight; and in the pursuit they took Adonibezek, who, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "Nay indeed I was not always to lie concealed from God, as I find by what I now endure, while I have not been ashamed to do the same to * seventy-two kings." So they carried him alive as far as Jerusalem; and when he was dead, they buried him in the earth, and went on still in taking

* This great number of 72 *Reguli*, or *small Kings*, over whom Adonibezek had tyrannized, and for which he was punished according to the *lex talionis*, as well as the 31 Kings of Canaan subdued by Joshua, and named in one chapter, Josh. xii. and 32 kings, or royal auxiliaries, to Benhadad King of Syria, 1 Kings xx. 1. Antiq. B. VIII. ch. xiv. § 1. intimate to us what was the ancient form of government among several nations before the monarchies began, viz. that every city or large town, with its neighbouring villages, was a distinct government by itself; which is the more remarkable, because this was certainly the form of ecclesiastical government that was settled by the apostles, and preserved throughout the christian church in the first ages of christianity. Mr. Addison is of opinion, that "it would certainly be for the good of mankind to have all the mighty empires and monarchies of the world cantoned out into petty states and principalities, that, like so many large families, might lie under the observation of their proper governors, so that the care of the prince might extend itself to every individual person under his protection, tho' he despairs of such a scheme being brought about, and thinks that if it were it would quickly be destroyed." Remarks on Italy, 4to. p. 151. Nor is it unfit to be observed here, that the Armenian records, though they give us the history of 39 of their ancientest heroes or governors after the flood, before the days of Sardanapalis, had no proper King till the 40th Paræus. See Moses Chorenensis, p. 55. And that Almighty God does not approve of such absolute or tyrannical monarchies, any one may learn that reads Deut. xvii. 14,—20. and 1 Sam. viii. 1,—22. although if such Kings are set up as own him for their supreme King, and aim to govern according to his laws, he hath admitted of them, and protected them, and their subjects in all generations.

taking the
of them,
the lower
they slew
be taken
walls, and

3. For
and when
There w
so large
men, tha
the heari
very day,
they gave
with the
to belong
the injun
which M
land for
who was
own coun
the wilde

4. No
which w
kelon an
za and E
and havi
those tha
grown v
laid aside

5. Bu
permitted
the one
and had
imitated
ing then
mitted t

6. Ho
Bethel,
of the ti
siege, ye
city, the

taking the cities; and when they had taken the greatest part of them, they besieged Jerusalem: and when they had taken the lower city, which was not under a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, through the strength of its walls, and the nature of the place.

3. For which reason they removed their camp to Hebron; and when they had taken it, they slew all the inhabitants. There were till then left the race of giants, who had bodies so large and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shewn to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men. Now they gave this city to the Levites as an extraordinary reward, with the suburbs of two thousand cities; but the land thereto belonging they gave as a free gift to Caleb; according to the injunctions of Moses: This Caleb was one of the spies which Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro, the Midianite, who was the father-in-law to Moses, for they had left their own country, and followed them, and accompanied them in the wilderness.

4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Askelon and Ashdod, of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza and Ekron escaped them, for they, lying in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots, they sorely galled those that attacked them: So these tribes, when they were grown very rich by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.

5. But the Benjamites, to whom belonged Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute: So they all left off the one to kill, and the other to expose themselves to danger, and had time to cultivate the ground. The rest of the tribes imitated that of Benjamin, and did the same; and contenting themselves with the tributes that were paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim, when they besieged Bethel, made no advance, nor performed any thing worthy of the time they spent, and of the pains they took about that siege, yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before the city, though they endured great trouble thereby: But after

some time, they caught one of the citizens that came to them to get necessaries, and they gave him some assurances, that if he would deliver up the city to them they would preserve him and his kindred; so he swore, that upon those terms he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly he that thus betrayed the city was preserved, with his family; and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city for themselves.

7. After this, the Israelites grew effeminate as to fighting any more against their enemies, but applied themselves to the cultivation of the land, which producing them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlement, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures; nor were they any longer careful to hear the laws that belonged to their political government: Whereupon God was provoked to anger, and put them in mind, first, how contrary to his directions they had spared the Canaanites, and, after that, how those Canaanites, as opportunity served, used them very barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at these admonitions from God, yet were they still very unwilling to go to war; and since they got large tributes from the Canaanites, and were indisposed for taking pains by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves a senate, nor any other such magistrates as their laws had formerly required, but they were very much given to cultivating their fields, in order to get wealth; which great indolence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another, from the following occasion.

8. There * was a Levite, a man of a vulgar family, that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein; this man married a wife from Bethlehem, which is a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and overcome with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from

* Josephus's early date of this history before the beginning of the Judges, or *when there was no King in Israel*, Judges xix. 1. is strongly confirmed by the large number of Benjamites both in the days of Aia and Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xiv. 8. and xvi. 17. who yet were here reduced to 600 men: Nor can those numbers be at all supposed genuine, if they were reduced so late as the end of the Judges, where our other copies place this reduction.

from her,
his passion
perpetually
quarrels,
in the four
her depart
his father
and was r
days, as b
day he rel
for his wi
and delay
one servan
man rode
already th
their lodg
them if th
not far of
cion of da
band was
take up h
the Cana
ther, and
Accordin
a city of
while no
lodge wi
that was
beah, an
what rea
ing out fo
he replie
from her
habitation
well bec
same trib
together
young m
woman i
they unc
the door
old man

from her, for she was averse to him, which did more inflame his passion for her, so that they quarrelled one with another perpetually; and at last the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her husband, and went to her parents in the fourth month. The husband being very uneasy at this her departure, and that out of his fondness for her, came to his father and mother-in-law, and made up their quarrels, and was reconciled to her, and lived with them there four days, as being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and went away in the evening: for his wife's parents were loth to part with their daughter, and delayed the time till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to take up their lodgings somewhere, lest some misfortune should befall them if they travelled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodging among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodgings in some Israelite city. Accordingly he obtained his purpose, and came to Gibeah, a city of the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and while no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him, Who he was? and for what reason he came thither so late? and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark? To which he replied, That he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home, but he told him his habitation was in the tribe of Ephraim: So the old man, as well because of their kindred, as because they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men, of the inhabitants of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contemning the weakness and fewness of the old man's family; and when the old man desired them to go

away,

away, and not to offer any violence or abuse there, they desired him to yield them up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him: And when the old man alleged, that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstacle to their inclinations; whereupon, when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them, that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her, than to abuse his guests, supposing that he himself should by this means prevent any injury to be done to those guests. When they no way abated of their earnestness for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he intreated them not to perpetrate any such act of injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away to their house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about day-break. So she came to the place where she had been entertained, under great affliction at what had happened, and was very sorrowful upon occasion of what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what she had done, so she fell down, and gave up the ghost; but her husband supposed that his wife was only fast asleep, and thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, endeavoured to raise her up, resolving to speak comfortably to her, since she did not voluntarily expose herself to these mens lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife upon the beast, and carried her home; and cutting her limb by limb into twelve pieces, he sent them to every tribe, and gave it in charge to those that carried them, to inform the tribes of those that were the causes of his wife's death, and of the violence they had offered to her.

9. Upon this the people were greatly disturbed at what they saw, and at what they heard, as never having had the

experience

experience of such a thing before, so they gathered themselves to Shiloh, out of a prodigious and a just anger, and assembling in a great congregation before the tabernacle, they immediately resolved to take arms, and to treat the inhabitants of Gibeah as enemies; but the senate restrained them from doing so, and persuaded them, that they ought not so hastily to make war upon people of the same nation with them, before they discoursed them by words concerning the accusation laid against them, it being part of their law, that they should not bring an army against foreigners themselves, when they appear to have been injurious, without sending an ambassador first, and trying thereby whether they will repent or not; and accordingly they exhorted them to do what they ought to do in obedience to their laws, that is, to send to the inhabitants of Gibeah, to know whether they would deliver up the offenders to them, and if they deliver them up, to rest satisfied with the punishment of those offenders, but if they despised the message that was sent them, to punish them, by taking up arms against them. Accordingly they sent to the inhabitants of Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crimes committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and required of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, as having justly deserved to die for what they had done; but the inhabitants of Gibeah would not deliver up the young men, and thought it too reproachful to them, out of fear of war, to submit to other mens demands upon them, vaunting themselves to be no way inferior to any in war, neither in their number nor in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great preparation for war, for they were so insolently mad as also to resolve to repel force by force.

10. When it was related to the Israelites what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon, they took their oath that no one of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but make war with greater fury against them than we have learned our forefathers made war against the Canaanites, and sent out presently an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites army was twenty-five thousand and six hundred; five hundred of which were excellent at slinging stones with their left hands, insomuch, that when the battle was joined at Gibeah the Benjamites beat the Israelites, and of them there fell two thousand men; and probably

probably more had been destroyed had not the night come on and prevented it, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to the city with joy, and the Israelites returned to their camp in a great fright at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites beat them, and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain, and the rest deserted their camp out of fear of a greater slaughter. So they came to * Bethel, a city that was near their camp, and fasted on the next day; and besought God by Phineas the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and give them the victory and power over their enemies. Accordingly God promised them so to do by the prophesying of Phineas.

11. When therefore they had divided the army into two parts, they laid the one half of them in ambush about the city Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, who retiring upon the assault, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, as very desirous to draw them intirely from the city, and the other followed them as they retired, till both the old men and young men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, as willing to bring their enemies under. However, when they were a great way from the city the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and lift up the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up, and with a great noise fell upon the enemy. Now, as soon as ever they perceived themselves to be deceived, they knew not what to do, and when they were driven into a certain hollow place which was in a valley, they were shot at by those that encompassed them till they were all destroyed, excepting six hundred which formed themselves into a close body of men, and forced their passage through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the neighbouring mountains, and seizing upon them, remained there; but the rest of them, being about twenty-five thousand were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew

* Josephus seems here to have made a small mistake, when he took the Hebrew word *Beth-El*, which denotes the *house of God*, or the *Tabernacle*, Judg. xx. 18. for the proper name of a place, *Bethel*, it no way appearing that the tabernacle was ever at Bethel; only so far it is true that Shiloh, the place of the tabernacle in the days of the Judges, was not far from Bethel.

the women, and the males that were under age; and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites. And indeed they were enraged to that degree, that they sent twelve thousand men out of the army, and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh Gilead, because it did not join with them in fighting against the Benjamites. Accordingly those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, excepting four hundred virgins. To such a degree had they proceeded in their anger, because they not only had the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers.

12. However, they afterward were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed those men had suffered justly for their offence against the laws; so they recalled by their ambassadors those six hundred which had escaped. These had seated themselves on a certain rock called *Rimmon*, which was in the wilderness; so the ambassadors lamented not only the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred, and persuaded them to take it patiently, and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their suffrage to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had been done was according to the decree of God, and had happened for their own wickedness, and assented to those that invented them, and came down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated about it how they might compass wives enough for them, and that they might have children by them: And whereas they had before the war begun taken an oath, that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they should do nothing against God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing, and that perjury was then a sad and dangerous thing, not when it is done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intention,

tention. But when the senate were affrighted at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them, that he could shew them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamite wives enough and yet keep their oath. They asked him what his proposal was? He said, That "three times in a year, when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters, to accompany us, let then the Benjamites be allowed to steal away, and marry such women as they can catch, while we will neither incite them, nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise to a high already." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice; and decreed, that the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins, in the vineyards and other places, where they could lie concealed. Accordingly the virgins came along playing, and suspected nothing of what was coming upon them, and walked after an ungarded manner, so those that lay scattered in the road rose up; and caught hold of them; by this means these Benjamites got them wives, and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy state. And thus was this tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner fore-mentioned, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to be a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

C H A P. III.

How the Israelites, after this misfortune, grew wicked, and served the Assyrians, and how God delivered them by Othniel, who ruled over them forty years.

§ 1. Now it happened, that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so on the occasion following; When the Israelites

clites had al
and were in
ed them, a
expected to
have a sure
pleased, and
own cities t
chariots, an
to combined
Ekron, wh
more of the
Danites to
not the lea
en. Since
and had no
their men
which they
went as far
mountains o
day's journ
of the land
they acquai
an expediti
of the same
name with
2. The
ing pains,
also procee
ship; for v
of their po
ther in liv
to their ow
were com
angry with
they had c
for when
against the
and when
there wer
him, and
they could

clites

elites had already left off the exercise of their arms for war, and were intent upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and might thereby for the time to come dwell in their own cities the more securely: They prepared therefore their chariots, and gathered their soldiery together; their cities also combined together, and drew over to them Askelon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and many more of those that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to fly into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain country to set their foot on. Since then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the mid-land country to see for a land to which they might remove their habitation: So these men went as far as the neighbourhood of mount Libanes, and the mountains of the lesser Jordan, at the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from the city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and found it to be good, and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they made an expedition with the army, and built there the city Dan, of the same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe.

2. The Israelites grew so indolent, and unready of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves farther in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were full of the evil doings that were common among the Canaanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost that their happy state, which they had obtained by innumerable labours, by their luxury: For when Chushan, King of the Assyrians, had made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when they were besieged, they were taken by force; nay there were some who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and thought the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all sort of oppression

oppression for eight years ; after which time they were free from them in the following manner.

3. There was one whose name was *Othniel*, the son of *Kenaz*, of the tribe of *Judah*, an active man, and of great courage. He had an admonition from God not to overlook the *Israelites* in such a distress as they were now in, but to endeavour boldly to gain them their liberty : So when he had procured some to assist him in this dangerous undertaking (and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him), he first of all destroyed that garrison which *Chushan* had set over them ; but when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more of the people came to his assistance ; so they joined battle with the *Assyrians*, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to pass over *Euphrates*. Hereupon *Othniel*, who had given such proofs of his valour, received from the multitude authority to judge the people : And when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

CHAP. IV.

How our people served the Moabites eighteen years, and were then delivered from slavery by one Ehud, who retained the dominion eighty years.

§ I. WHEN *Othniel* was dead, the affairs of the *Israelites* fell again into disorder ; and while they neither paid to God the honour due to him, nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till *Eglon*, King of the *Moabites*, did so greatly despise them, on account of the disorders of their political government, that he made war upon them and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at * *Jericho*, he omitted no means

* It appears by the sacred history, *Judg.* i. 16. iii. 13. that *Eglon's* pavilion or palace was at the city of *Palm-trees*, as the place where *Jericho* had stood is called after its destruction by *Joshua*, that is, at or near the demolished city. Accordingly *Josephus* says it was at *Jericho*, rather in that fine country of palm-trees, upon or near to the same spot of ground on which *Jericho* had formerly stood, and on which it was rebuilt by *Heil*, *1 Kings* xvi. 34. Our other copies, that avoid its proper name *Jericho*, and call it the city of *Palm-trees* only, speaks here more accurately than *Josephus*.

method where
them to pro
taken pity
and was m
to him, he
with unde
them in th

2. There
whose nam
courage in
for hard la
which was
Now this
means of p
insinuated
so beloved
on a time,
two servan

cretely, and
the middle
their watch
gone to di
his present

that stood
with him,
servants th
a mind to
throne ; an
stroke, and
self up, an
command
throne for
and leavin
door after
supposing t

3. Here
vately of v
their liber
and sent m
pets of ran
together by
stant of wh

method whereby he might distress them; and indeed he reduced them to poverty for eighteen years. But when God had once taken pity of the Israelites, on account of their afflictions, and was moved to compassion by their supplications put up to him, he freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner.

2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was *Ehud*, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labour, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favour, and insinuated himself into his good opinion, whereby he was also beloved of those that were about the King. Now, when on a time, he was bringing presents to the King, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: It was then summer-time, and the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young man, when he had offered his presents to the King, who then resided in a small parlour that stood conveniently to avoid the heat, he fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the King having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was now sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke, and not give him a deadly wound, so he raised himself up, and said, he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the King leaped out of his throne for joy of the dream, so Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the King's servants were very still as supposing that the King had composed himself to sleep.

3. Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to their arms and sent messengers over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams horns, for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while;

but towards the evening, fearing some uncommon accident had happened, they entered into his parlour, and when they found him dead, they were in great disorder, and knew not what to do: And before the guards could be got together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and ran away toward the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, nor did one of them escape out of their hands; and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ehud also was on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude, and died after he had held the government * eighty years. He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides what he deserved for the fore-mentioned act of his. After him Shamgar, the son of Anath, was elected for their governor, but died in the first year of his government.

CHAP. V.

How the Canaanites brought the Israelites under slavery for twenty years; after which they were delivered by Barak and Deborah, who ruled over them for forty years.

§ 1. AND now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshipping God, nor submitting to the laws, were brought under slavery by Jabin the King of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the slavery under the Moabites; for this Jabin came out of Hazer, a city that was situate over the lake Semechonitis, and had in pay three hundred thousand foot-

* These 80 years for the government of Ehud are necessary to Josephus's usual large numbers, between the Exodus and the building of the temple, of 592 or 612 years, but not to the smallest number of 480 years, 1 Kings vi. 1. which lesser number Josephus seems sometimes to have followed. And since in the beginning of the next chapter it is said by Josephus, that here was *hardly a breathing time* for the Israelites before Jabin came and enslaved them, it is highly probable, that some of the copies in his time had here only 8 years instead of 80; as had that of Teophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolye*, L. III. and this most probably from his copy of Josephus.

men, and thousand my, and so sorely he ordered

2. So ty years. their mis subdue th when at as to learn the laws, them, (w to pray t them, no granted t one that Hebrew

3. So ten thou God had them vict the gener she had in " Barak, " hath g " reject i ed their mand, Si the enem were so a they wer them, an for that t assistance

4. So close fight a vast qu in the fac their arr would th of their f

men, and ten thousand horsemen, with no fewer than three thousand chariots. Sisera was the commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king's favour. He so sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

2. So they continued to undergo that hardship for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself: So when at length they were become penitent, and were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them, (which name in the Hebrew tongue, signifies a *bee*), to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined by the Canaanites. So God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Naphtali, (now Barak in the Hebrew tongue signifies *lightning*).

3. So Deborah sent for Barak, and bid him choose him out ten thousand young men to go against the enemy, because God had said that that number was sufficient, and promised them victory. But when Barak said, that he would not be the general unless she would also go as a general with him, she had indignation at what he said, and replied, "Thou, O Barak, deliverest up meanly that authority which God hath given thee, into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it." So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at mount Tabor, where, at the King's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites, and Barak himself, were so affrighted at the multitude of those enemies, that they were resolved to march off, had not Deborah retained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance.

4. So the battle began; and when they were come to a close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them; nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords, while this storm did not so much incommode

the Israelites, because it came in their backs. They also took such courage, upon the apprehension that God was assisting them, that they fell upon the very midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them, so that some of them fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, fled away, and came to a woman whose name was *Jael*, a Kenite, who received him, when he desired to be concealed; and when he asked for somewhat to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he drank so unmeasurably, that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, Jael took an iron nail and drove it through his temples with an hammer into the floor: and when Barak came a little afterward, she shewed Sisera nailed to the ground. And thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was the commander of the Israelites for forty years.

CH A P. VI.

How the Midianites and other nations fought against the Israelites, and beat them, and afflicted their country for seven years. How they were delivered by Gideon, who ruled over the multitude for seven years.

§ 1. Now when Barak and Deborah were dead; whose deaths happened about the same time, afterwards the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off the prey. Now when they had done this for three years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved therein whatsoever had escaped their enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, that so when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed there ensued a famine, and

and a scarcity of food, upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them.

2. Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and threshed them at the wine-press, for he was too fearful of their enemies to thresh them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a young man, and told him, "That he was an happy man, and beloved of God." To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a threshing-floor!" But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of their liberty. He answered, That "it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged was by no means numerous, and because he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions." But the other promised him, that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelites victory under his conduct.

3. Now therefore as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, That "mankind were too fond of themselves, and were enemies to such as excelled in virtue, now that they might not pass God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power, because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage, but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies." And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously, so God bid him take these men and attack the enemy. Accordingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him before hand, that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time : But God being willing to free him from his fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow bold. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him ; and as he came near to one of the tents he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow-soldier a dream of his own, and that so plainly that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: He thought he saw a barley cake, such an one as could hardly be eaten by men it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army, and told them what his reason was which made him so to conjecture, *viz.* that the seed called *barley* was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, agreeably to the seed of barely, and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites was this Gideon and the army that was with him : and since thou sayest thou didest see the cake overthrowing our tents, I am afraid lest God hath granted the victory over us to Gideon.

5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him ; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them : So Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each part containing an hundred men : they all bare empty pitchers, and lighted lamps in their hands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet. The enemies camp took up a large space of ground ; for it happened they had a great many camels : and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered before hand, upon their approach to their enemies, and on the signal given, sounded with their rams horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and

and a great assistance men while God would enemies, but count of the once put in thinking to slaughter to the Israelites enemies, and with torments they encouraged Oreb and soldiers that and pitched ever, Gideon with all his whole enemy Zalmuna, in this battle Arabians Hebrews and came his own enemies.

6. How the good against his expedition temper, and " was not " made " was the " to the method of the Hebrews for he thought arising a punishment which was

and a great shout, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized on the other men while they were half asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language, and when they were once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there were a great slaughter made. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley, encompassed with torrents, a place which these could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. But the remaining captains led those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his pains, but pursued them with all his army, and joined battle with them, cut off the whole enemies army, and took the other leaders, Zebah and Zalmuna, and made them captives. Now there were slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about an hundred and twenty thousand, and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold and silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophrah, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

6. However the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, That "it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning, that made him attack the enemy without them, but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as those in the army." And by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews than by the success he had against these enemies, for he thereby delivered them from a sedition which was arising among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer the punishment of this their injurious treatment of Gideon, of which we will give an account in due time.

7. How-

7. Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was over-persuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed justice to them as the people came to him in their differences; and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died he was buried in his own country of Ophrah.

C H A P. VII.

That the Judges who succeeded Gideon made war with the adjoining nations for a long time.

§ 1. Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives, but he had also one that was spurious by his concubine Drumah, whose name was *Abimelech*, who, after his father's death, retired to Shechem to his mother's relations, for they were of that place. And when he had got money of such of them as were eminent for many instances of injustice, he came with them to his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham, for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, instead of obeying the laws, and he acted most rigidly against those that were the patrons of justice.

2. Now, when on a certain time, there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to mount Gerizzim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them: So when silence was made, he said, That "when the trees had a human voice, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because it was contented to enjoy that honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bare, and not that which should be derived to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honour to the vine: But when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government: and when

the olive-tree had done the same, the brier, whom the trees had desired to take the kingdom, (it is a sort of wood good for firing), it promised to take the government, and to be zealous in the exercise of it, but that then they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principal of fire that was in it should destroy them. He told them that what he had said was no laughing matter: for that when they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he over ruled all, and had joined with them in slaying his brethren: and that he was no better than a fire himself." So when he had said this, he went away, and lived privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away, both from their city and their tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather their fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that sojourned with them, having his armed men, and his kinsmen with him, so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage, whereupon he accepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiery: So they gathered their fruit with safety; and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly, and the magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

4. Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excited him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged on him, and when that was once done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. Now Gaal abode in the suburbs, taking little care of himself; and Zebul was with him. Now as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, that some

some armed men were coming : but the other replied, they were only shadows of huge stones ; and when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality, and said, they were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice ? why dost thou not then shew how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him ? So Gaal, being in disorder, joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell ; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters so in the city, that he procured them to expel Gaal out of the city, and this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Abimelech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they were coming out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates to hinder the citizens from returning in again, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter everywhere ; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army, till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country, and so escaped the danger, they were gathered together unto a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it ; and when Abimelech knew their intentions, he prevented them, and came upon them with his forces, and laying fagots of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was encompassed round about with these fagots, they set them on fire, and threw in whatsoever by nature caught fire the most easily ; so a mighty flame was raised, and no body could fly away from the rock, but every man perished, with their wives and children, in all about fifteen hundred men, and the rest were a great number also. And such was the calamity which fell upon the Shechemites ; and mens grief on their account had been greater than it was, had they not brought so much mischief on a person who had so well deserved of them, and had they not themselves esteemed this as a punishment for the same.

5. Now Abimelech, when he had affrighted the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seem-

* Our p
though the
years to his
mentators c
ed
his 23 year
been here l

ed openly to affect greater authority than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the destruction of all. Accordingly he marched to Thebes, and took the city on the sudden; and there being a great tower therein, whereunto the whole multitude fled, he made preparation to besiege it. Now as he was rushing with violence near the gates, a woman threw a piece of a mill-stone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down; and desired his armour-bearer to kill him, lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman, who did what he was bid to do. So he underwent this death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brethren, and his insolent barbarity to the Shechemites. Now the calamity that happened to those Shechemites was according to the prediction of Jotham. However, the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall, was scattered abroad, and went to their own homes.

6. Now it was that * Jair the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skilful in riding on horses, and were intrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He kept the government twenty-two years and died an old man; and he was buried in Camon, a city of Gilead.

7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God, and of the laws. So the Amonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Perea, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest: But the Hebrews, being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

8. When

* Our present copies of Josephus all omit Tola among the Judges, though the other copies have him next after Abimelech, and allot 23 years to his administration, Judges x. 1, 2. yet do all Josephus's commentators conclude, that in Josephus's sum of the years of the Judges his 23 years are included; hence we are to confess, that somewhat has been here lost out of his copies.

8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a commander. Now there was one whose name was *Jephtha*, who, both on account of his father's virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expences, was a potent man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him the dominion over them all his lifetime. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and this in an open manner, by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced among them by his father's fondness, and this they did out of a contempt of his inability [to vindicate himself]. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and swore that they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war.

9. And when Jephtha had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city *Mispeh*, and sent a message to the Ammonite [King], complaining of his unjust possession of their land. But that King sent a contrary message; and complained of the Exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Ammonites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. But Jephtha returned this answer, That "he did not justly complain of his ancestors about the land of the Ammonites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now inhabited [above] three hundred years, but would fight with them about it."

10. And when he had given them this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had * vowed to perform sacred offices; and if he came home

* Josephus justly condemns Jephtha, as do the Apostolical Constitutions, B. VII. ch. 37. for his *rash vow*, whether it were for sacrific-

home in
ver shoul
and gain
mies all
over to t
their cit
from tha
years.
correspo
his daug
child, an
greatnes
so forwa
to God.
not ungr
her fath
She only
to bewa
agreed,
accordin
he sacrific
an oblat
ceptable
the hear

11. N
he did
against
and the
said, fir
fought a
not com
quickly
that th
not cou
stily ag
that, w

VOL.

cing his
his only
which I
to have
as relat
note on

home in safety, to offer in sacrifice what living creature soever should first meet him, he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city Minnith. He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their cities, and took their prey, and freed his own people from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back, he fell into a calamity no way correspondent to the great actions he had done; for it was his daughter that came to meet him; she was also an only child, and a virgin: Upon this Jephtha heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and blamed his daughter for being so forward in meeting him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, this action that was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she should die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow-citizens. She only desired her father to give her leave for two months to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens; and then she agreed, that at the fore-mentioned time he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly when that time was over, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering, offering such an oblation as was neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, not weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.

11. Now the tribe of Ephraim fought against him, because he did not take them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, but because he alone had the prey, and the glory of what was done to himself. As to which he said, first that they were not ignorant how his country had fought against him, and that when they were invited, they did not come to his assistance, whereas they ought to have come quickly, even before they were invited. And in the next place, that they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they came hastily against their own kindred: and he threatened them, that, with God's assistance, he would inflict a punishment upon

VOL. I.

A a

. on

cing his daughter, as Josephus thought, or for dedicating her, who was his only child, to perpetual virginity, at the tabernacle, or elsewhere, which I rather suppose. If he had vowed her for a sacrifice she ought to have been redeemed, Levit. xxvii. 1—8. but of the sense of v. 28, 29. as relating not to things *vowed to God*, but *devoted to destruction*, see the note on Antiq. B. V. ch. i. § 8.

on them, unless they would grow wiser. But when he could not persuade them, he fought with them with those forces which he sent for out of Gilead, and he made a great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten, he pursued them, and seized on the passages of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent before, and slew about forty-two thousand of them.

12. So when Jephtha had ruled six years he died, and was buried in his own country Sebee, which is a place in the land of Gilead.

13. Now when Jephtha was dead, Ibzan took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all which he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording, or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

14. When Ibzan was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulun.

15. Abdon, also the son of Hillel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and born at the city Pirathon, was ordained their supreme governor after Helon. He is only recorded to have been happy in his children; for the public affairs were then so peaceable, and in such security, that neither did he perform any glorious action. He had forty sons, and by them left thirty grand-children; and he marched in state with these seventy, who were all very skilful in riding horses, and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man; and obtained a magnificent burial in Pirathon.

C H A P. VIII.

Concerning the fortitude of Sampson, and what mischiefs he brought upon the Philistines.

§ 1. **A**FTER Abdon was dead, the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner.

2. That he
that he
principal
for her
no child
intreated
ceed the
* suburb
great pl
madness
her. No
seen by
man, be
she shoul
be a goo
grown u
He expo
avoid al
and be e
he had d
ing beer

3. N
home, c
admirat
had app
out of h
by that
unreason
God to
husband
while th
was alo
stay so l
being g
angel h
to infor
said, it
he then

* I can
stantly in
synagogue

2. There was one Manoah, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and excelling her contemporaries. He had no children; and being uneasy at his want of posterity, he intreated God to give them seed of their own bodies to succeed them; and with that intent he came constantly into the * suburbs, together with his wife, which suburbs were in the great plain. Now he was fond of his wife to the degree of madness, and on that account was unmeasurably jealous of her. Now when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her; it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man, beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news, that she should have a son, born by God's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength, by whom, when he was grown up to man's estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He exhorted her also not to poll his hair, and that he should avoid all other kinds of drink (for so had God commanded), and be entirely contented with water. So the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

3. Now the wife informed her husband, when he came home, of what the angel had said, who shewed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished, and out of himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excited by that passion: But she was desirous to have her husband's unreasonable sorrow taken away; accordingly she intreated God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel came again, by the favour of God, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone, without her husband. She desired the angel to stay so long till she might bring her husband; and that request being granted, she goes to call Manoah. When he saw the angel he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife: But when he said, it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell him who he was, that when

A a 2

the

* I can discover no reason why Manoah and his wife came so constantly into these suburbs to pray for children, but because there was a synagogue or place of devotion in those suburbs.

the child was born they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied, that he did not want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son out of the want of any thing. And when Manoah had intreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However, he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah, to stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality: So he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh, but without the vessels, upon the rock; which, when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed, together with the loaves. And the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God, but his wife bid him be of good courage; for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

4. So the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions that were given her; and they called the child, when he was born, *Sampson*, which name signifies one that is *strong*. So the child grew apace, and it appeared evidently that he would be a * prophet, both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

5. Now when he once came with his parents to Timnath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife: But they refused so to do, because she was not of the flock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he overpersuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him. And as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and though he was naked, he received his onset, and strangled him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

6. And

* Here by a *prophet* Josephus seems only to mean one that was born by a particular providence, lived after the manner of a Nazarite devoted to God, and was to have an extraordinary commission and strength from God, for the judging and avenging his people Israel, without any proper prophetic revelations at all.

6. A
he light
breast of
gave the
fel. Nov
man's str
feast (fo
of their
ality to
give the
rily and
" Come,
" in the
" shirt a
they bein
gether w
said, " th
" self, th
they wer
ing of th
the mean
ened to
damsel in
do it, bu
made his
informed
bees in h
brought t
informed
to know
to expour
before su
" than a
" er than
Sampson
" than a v
" interpre
presents h
met him
stines also
spised his
made the

6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he light upon a swarm of bees making their combs in the breast of that lion, and taking three honey-combs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timnath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him, during the time of the wedding feast (for he then feasted them all) thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretence to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily and playing, Sampson said, as was usual at such times, "Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in these seven days time, I will give you every one a linen shirt and a garment, as a reward of your wisdom." So they being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together with the gains, desired him to propose his riddle: He said, "that a great devourer produced sweet food out of itself, though itself were very disagreeable." And when they were not able, in three days time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them, and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel intreated Sampson to tell it her, he at first refused to do it, but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, and made his refusal to tell it a sign of his unkindness to her, he informed her of his slaughter of a lion, and how he found bees in his breast, and carried away three honey-combs, and brought them to her. Thus he suspecting nothing of deceit, informed her of all, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sun-setting, and said, "Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it, and nothing is sweeter than honey to those that make use of it." To which Sampson made this rejoinder, "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman, for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you." Accordingly he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Askelonites as met him upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced this his wife, and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who made the former match between them.

7. At this injurious treatment Sampson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines, as well as her: So it being then summer-time, and the fruits of the land being almost ripe enough for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, he sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the fruits of the fields perished. Now when the Philistines knew that this was Sampson's doing, and knew also for what cause he did it, they sent their rulers to Timnath, and burnt his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

8. Now when Sampson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Etam, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe: But the people of Judah said, that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Sampson's offences. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Sampson, and put him into their power. So they being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Sampson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him, they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power, so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemies hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and lead him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they came to a certain place, which is now called *The Jaw-bone*, on account of the great action there performed by Sampson, though of old it had no particular name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet them with joy and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Sampson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jaw-bone, slew a thousand

thousand disorder.

9. Upon had performed the assistance to his own "of a dr "rest ran a great th rage is no scribed to gry at an of his en deliver h God was tiful four that Sam called to

10. At tempt, an certain in his comin men in a out being with their and ran b and the r way on h over Heb

11. H his count imitated the begin man that *Delilah*,

* This f sellers affu ephus, and See Antiq.

† See thi ch. xxxvii. his transgre

thousand of them, and put the rest to flight, and into great disorder.

9. Upon this slaughter Sampson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that this did not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage; and vaunted himself, that "it was out of a dread of him that some of his enemies fell, and the rest ran away upon his use of the jaw-bone." But when a great thirst came upon him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bare his testimony that all is to be ascribed to God, and besought him that he would not be angry at any thing he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from the misfortune he was under. Accordingly God was moved with his intreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock; whence it was that Sampson called the place * *The Jaw-bone*, and so it is called to this day.

10. After this fight Sampson had the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza, and took up his lodgings in a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they seized upon the gates, and placed men in ambush about them, that he might not escape without being perceived: But Sampson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and ran by force upon the gates, with their posts and beams, and the rest of their wooden furniture, and carried them away on his shoulders, and bare them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

11. However, he at length † transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman that was an harlot among the Philistines: her name was *Delilah*, and he lived with her. So those that administered the

* This fountain called *Lebi*, or, *The Jaw-bone*, is still in being, as travellers assure us, and was known by this very name in the days of Josephus, and has been known by the same name in all these past ages. See Antiq. B. VII. ch. xii. § 4. vol. II.

† See this justly observed in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. VII. ch. xxxvii. that Sampson's prayer was heard, but that it was before this his transgression.

the public affairs of the Philistines came to her, and with promises induced her to get out of Sampson what was the cause of that his strength, by which he became unconquerable to the enemies. Accordingly, when they were drinking and had the like conversation together, she pretended to admire his actions he had done, and contrived to get out of him by subtilty, by what means he so much excelled others in strength. Sampson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not yet lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven such green withs of a vine as might still be wreathed he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain of the soldiers in ambush within the house, and when he was disordered in drink, and asleep, she bound him, as fast as possible, with the withs; and then upon his awakening him, she told him some of the people were upon him, but he broke the withs, and endeavoured to defend himself, as though some of the people were upon him. Now this woman, in the constant conversation Sampson had with her, pretended, that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her affections to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to have concealed. However he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when upon doing this she gained nothing, he told her the third time, that his hair should be woven into a web: but, when upon doing this, the truth was not yet discovered. At length Sampson, upon Delilah's prayer (for he was doomed to fall into some affliction), was desirous to please her, and told her, That "God took care of him, and that he was bound by his providence, and that thence it is that I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to poll my head, and thence my strength is according to the increase and continuance of my hair." When she had learned thus much, and had deprived him of his hair, she delivered him up to his enemies, when he was not strong enough to defend himself from their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and had him led about among them.

12. But in process of time Sampson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when

the rulers
feasting to
roof supp
he was br
their cup
fortunes i
was thus
band, tha
desired he
he came
overthrew
thousand
them. A
over the
serves to
manimity
went so f
ing enfa
nature, v
sin; but
pects he
took awa
try, with

How und
Ruth, J

1. No

the coun
lehem, w
to suppor
Naomi b
her, Chil
the land
sairs the
pah for C
of ten ye
the sons
dents, an
that wer

the rulers, and those of the most eminent character, were feasting together (now the room wherein they were had its roof supported by two pillars), so they sent for Sampson, and he was brought to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes if he should not be able to revenge himself when he was thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand, that he was weary, and wanted to rest himself, and desired he would bring him near the pillars; and as soon as he came to them, he rushed with force against them, and overthrew the house by overthrowing its pillars, with three thousand men in it, who were all slain, and Sampson with them. And such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And indeed this man deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath against his enemies went so far as to die himself with them. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sarafat, his own country, with the rest of his family.

C H A P. IX.

How under Eli's government of the Israelites Booz married Ruth, from whom came Obed, the grandfather of David.

§ 1. Now after the death of Sampson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. Under him, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, which is a city of the tribe of Judah, being not able to support his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and the children that were born to him by her, Chilion and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the happy prosperity of his affairs there, he took for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after him, the sons died: and Naomi being very uneasy at these accidents, and not able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that

that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her, and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not dissuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had had with their first husbands, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also; and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and partaking with her of that uncertainty under which she must return. Accordingly Orpah stayed behind, but she took Ruth along with her, as not to be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her, whatsoever it should prove.

2. When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her: And when Naomi was so called by her fellow citizens, according to her true name, she said, "You might more truly call me *Mara*." Now Naomi signifies in the Hebrew tongue *happiness*, and *Mara* *sorrow*. It was now reaping-time; and Ruth, by the leave of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get a stock of corn for their food. Now it happened that she came into Booz's field, and after some time Booz came thither, and when he saw the damsel, he inquired of his servant that was set over the reapers concerning the girl. The servant had a little before inquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master, who kindly embraced her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law, and her remembrance of the favour of her's to whom she had been married, and wished that she might experience a prosperous condition: So he desired her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave it in charge to that servant who was over the reapers, not to hinder her when she took it away, and bid him give her her dinner, and make her drink, when he did the like to the reapers. Now when the corn Ruth received of him she kept for her mother-in-law, and came to her in the evening, and brought the ears of corn with her; and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbours had plentifully bestowed upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Booz had said to her; and when the other had informed her that he was near of kin to

them

turned them, and perhaps was so pious a man as to make some provision for them, she went out again on the days following to gather the gleanings with Booz's maid-servants.

3. It was not many days before Booz, after the barley was winnowed, slept in his threshing-floor. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance, she contrived it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage that he should discourse with the girl. Accordingly she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet, who went as she bade her, for she did not think it consistent with her duty to contradict any command of her mother's-in-law. And at first she lay concealed from Booz, as he was fast asleep; but when he awaked about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked who she was; and when she told him her name, and desired, that he whom she owned for her lord, would excuse her, he then said no more, but in the morning, before the servants began to set about their work, he awaked her, and bid her take as much barley as she was able to carry, and go to her mother-in-law, before any body there should see that she had lain down by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially when there had been nothing done that was ill. But as to the main point she aimed at, the matter should rest here, "He that is nearer of kin than I am, shall be asked whether he wants to take thee to wife; if he says he does, thou shalt follow him; but if he refuse it, I will marry thee according to the law."

4. When she had informed her mother-in-law of this, they were very glad of it, out of the hope they had that Booz would make provision for them. Now about noon Booz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and when he had sent for Ruth, he called for her kinsman also; and when he was come, he said, Dost not thou retain the inheritance of Elimelech and his sons? He confessed that he did retain it, and that he did as he was permitted to do by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. Then said Booz, "Thou must not remember the laws by halves, but do every thing according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom thou must marry, according to the laws, in case thou wilt retain their fields." So the man yielded up both the field and the wife to Booz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, as alleging that he

he had a wife already, and children also: So Booz called the senate to witness; and bid the woman to loose his shoe, and spit in his face, according to the law: and when this was done, Booz married Ruth, and they had a son within a year's time. Naomi was herself a nurse to this child; and by the advice of the women called him *Obed*, as being to be brought up in order to be *subservient* to her in her old age, for Obed in the Hebrew dialect signifies a *servant*. The son of Obed was Jesse, and David was his son, who was King, and left his dominions to his sons for one and twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate this history of Ruth, because I had a mind to demonstrate the power of God, who, without difficulty, can raise those that are of ordinary parentage to dignity and splendour, to which he advanced David, though he were born of such mean parents.

C H A P. X.

Concerning the birth of Samuel; and how he foretold the calamity that befel the sons of Eli.

§ 1. **A**ND now, upon the ill state of the affairs of the Hebrews, they made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this: Eli the high priest had two sons, Hophni and Phineas. These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men, and of impiety towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honourable employment they had, others of them they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God [at the tabernacle], obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes; nay, the whole course of their life was no better than tyranny. Their father therefore was angry at them for such their wickedness, and expected that God would suddenly inflict his punishments upon them for what they had done. The multitude took it heinously also. And as soon as God had foretold what calamity would befall Eli's sons, which he did both to Eli himself, and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, he openly shewed his sorrow for his sons destruction.

2. I will first dispatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that will proceed to speak of the sons of Eli, and the miseries they brought on the whole people.

of the I
tion am
thaim,
nah and
ved the
came w
it was t
merly f
ed at
childre
fitting
mented
and suff
tions to
give he
secrete
and thi
be like
prayers
fore th
disorde
ter, bu
ing Go
that G
3. S
meal w
own co
son bo
which
fore ca
the ch
man re
and de
might
to grov
and wa
sons by
4. N
proph
by his
priest
call hi
You

of the Hebrews. Elcanah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow citizens, and one that dwelt at Ramathaim, a city of the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter, but he loved the other best, although she were barren. Now Elcanah came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have formerly said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he distributed at that festival portions of the flesh to his wives and children, and when Hannah saw the other wife's children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented herself on account of her barrenness and loneliness; and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband's consolations to her, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her seed, and to make her a mother; and to vow to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, and this in such a way that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, Eli the high priest, for he sat there before the tabernacle, bid her go away, thinking she had been disordered with wine; but when she said she had drank water, but was in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bid her be of good cheer, and told her that God would send her children.

3. So she came to her husband full of hope, and eat her meal with gladness: And when they had returned to their own country she found herself with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of *Samuel*, which may be styled one that was *asked of God*. They therefore came to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tythes with them; but the woman remembered the vow she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. Accordingly his hair was suffered to grow long, and his drink was water. So Samuel dwelt and was brought up in the temple. But Elcanah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

4. Now when Samuel was twelve years old he began to prophecy: and when he was once asleep, God called to him by his name, but he supposing he had been called by the high priest came to him; but when the high priest said he did not call him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated,

that he said to him, "Indeed Samuel I was silent now as well as before: It is God that calls thee; do thou therefore signify it to him, and say, I am here ready." So when he heard God speak again, he desired him to speak, and to deliver what oracles he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration whatsoever he should make use of him in; to which God replied, "Since thou art here ready, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites, such indeed as words cannot declare, nor faith believe; for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleazar, for Eli hath loved his sons more than he hath loved my worship, and to such a degree, as is not for their advantage." Which message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for otherwise he had no inclination to afflict him by telling it. And now Eli had a far more sure expectation of the perdition of his sons; but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being found by experience that whatsoever he * prophesied came to pass accordingly.

C H A P. XI.

Herein is declared what befel the sons of Eli, the ark, and the people; and how Eli himself died miserably.

§ 1. ABOUT this time it was that the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city Aphek. Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of their multitude to their camp.

2. So the Hebrews being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate, and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in array, when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies, as not reflecting that he who had condemned them

* Although there had been a few occasional prophets before, yet was this Samuel the first of a constant succession of prophets in the Jewish nation, as is implied in St. Peter's words, Acts iii. 24. *Yea and all the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days.* See also Acts xiii. 20. The others were rather sometimes called *righteous men*, Matth. x. 41. xiii. 17.

them to
for who
the ark
received
survive
his pres
father h
age. S
that by
enemies
were af
the up
fides, b
Hebrev
defeat
raelites
in the
they ca
thirty
priest;

3. V
that of
Benja
ther),
high p
heard
thing
and w
was no
withal
vine r
himse
unexp
ark w
grieve
he ex
havin
the g

4.
not al
told h
ever,

now as there. So speak would should you are the Isra- with be- and the leazar, ed my advan- y path Et him ctation increa- what-

them to endure these calamities was greater than the ark, and for whose sake it was that this ark came to be honoured. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest within, having received a charge from their father, that if they pretended to survive the taking of the ark they should come no more into his presence; for Phineas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned his office to him, by reason of his great age. So the Hebrews were full of courage, as supposing that by the coming of the ark they should be too hard for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites; however the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectation of both sides, but when the battle was joined, that victory which the Hebrews expected was gained by the Philistines, and what defeat the Philistines were afraid of fell to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found that they had put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among which were the sons of the high priest; but the ark was carried away by the enemies.

and the de war mp at d them nd the ousand ade to to the would array, rd for emned them yet was Jewish all the ve spo- e other 7.

3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark, (for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came as a messenger thither), the whole city was full of lamentations. And Eli the high priest, who sat upon an high throne at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family: So he sent for the young man; and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him withal about the army, as having before hand known by divine revelation that those things would happen, and having himself declared them before hand, for what sad things come unexpectedly they distress men the most; but as soon as the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected, so he fell down from his throne, and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

4. On the same day his son Phineas's wife died also, as not able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labour. However, she bare a son at seven months, which lived, and to which

which they gave the name of *Icabod*, which name signifies *disgrace*, and this because the army received a *disgrace* at this time.

5. Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the government, for the family of Eleazar officiated as high priest at first, the son still receiving that honour from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas; after whom Abiezer his son took the honour, and delivered it to his son, whose name was *Bukki*, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, and so he had his posterity until the time of Solomon's reign; but then the posterity of Eleazar re-assumed it.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK, AND OF THE FIRST
VOLUME.

18 JY 64

k V.

nifies
ce at

, the
family
ll re-
eath-
k the
Bukki,
li, of
so he
; but